VOLUME V NUMBER 3

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

JULY 1931

EDITORIAL

While the Anabaptists were bitterly persecuted in most of the territories in which they flourished during their early history, they received milder treatment at the hands of a few enlightened rulers such as the noted Landgraf Philip of Hesse. It is interesting to learn what happened under these outwardly more favorable circumstances. It is likewise interesting to observe the means used by the more tolerant authorities to divert the movement into channels which would conserve the values it contained while removing the dangers of the movement to the state church. It is just this story which is given us in "The Early Anabaptists in Hesse" by Christian Hege, of Frankfurt a. M., Germany, one of the editors and publishers of that splendid undertaking known as the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*. The results of Hege's study show that while the Anabaptist movement practically disintegrated (due of course to other contributory causes as well), the state church of Hesse was considerably influenced by the compromises it made with the Anabaptists in its endeavor to meet their challenge.

Hege spends considerable time in tracing the work of the authorities in dealing with the Anabaptists and in reforming their own disciplinary system. That little time is devoted to the inner history of the Anabaptist movement is of course due to the lack of source material. The figure of Martin Butzer stands out in strong relief throughout the story, fortunately in a good light. It is refreshing to read of a state church theologian and reformer willing to confess that the challenge of Anabaptism to the state church was justified, and willing also to meet the challenge with measures of reform. What might have happened to the Reformation in general if this intelligent attitude had been taken by other reformers,

and applied consistently to the needs of the day, in place of the unreasoning opposition and bitter persecution which was almost uniformly practiced?

The editors are grateful to Christian Hege for his valued contribution, which is translated from a copy of the article which appeared in the latest instalment (no 22) of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

JOHN UMBLE CONTINUES HIS THOROUGH AND INTERESTING ACcounts of early Mennonite Sunday schools in Northwestern Ohio, with the history of the Zion Mennonite congregation near Bluffton, Ohio. The history is valuable not the least because of the lessons which may be learned from the unfortunate history of this once thriving congregation. Those who knew of the strong character and able services of John Thut, C. P. Steiner, and M. S. Steiner, will be particularly interested in the story. The history of the Chapel (New Stark) congregation will follow in the next issue.

THE SECOND HALF OF J. M. HOFER'S VALUABLE TRANSLATION of Paul Tschetter's diary contains the detailed account of the various trips of investigation made by Tschetter and his companions in Minnesota, Manitoba, Dakota, and neighboring regions. By rare good fortune the REVIEW is able to present an original map illustrating the routes followed by the Russian delegates in their tour of inspection in North Dakota. The copies of the petition to President Grant together with his reply are also of unusual value to students of the Russian Mennonite immigration to America. The REVIEW expects to publish further source material on this movement in later issues.

THE *Research Notes* IN THIS ISSUE CONSIST OF SEVERAL VERY interesting documents bearing on early Ontario Mennonite history; first, a tax list of 1839 showing the Mennonite population of Willoughby Township in Lincoln County; second, a typical affidavit used to secure exemption from militia service; third, two interesting newspaper articles referring to the Ontario Mennonite Conference of 1836.

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THE EARLY ANABAPTISTS IN HESSE*

CHRISTIAN HEGE, Frankfurt a. M., Germany

Hesse stands near the top among the German territories in which Anabaptism became widespread even in the very first years of its rise. The history of the movement in this territory, the territory which at that time contained not only the later Grand Duchy of Hesse but also the greater part of the modern Prussian Province of Hesse-Nassau, furnishes a typical example of how theologians, princes, statesmen, and jurists united to combat a brotherhood which thought it could not find the true primitive Christian life in the state church. Nevertheless Hesse has a special place in the history of the Anabaptist movement since in this territory, in contrast to the other territories in the empire in which the Reformation was established, death sentences on account of faith were not executed on the Anabaptists. The reason why the clergy in Hesse were not able to put across their viewpoint on the suppression of those who held to the baptism of faith was the position of Landgraf Philip. He preferred as more Biblical the method of free exchange of opinion, rather than the application of force. The results of the discussions with the Anabaptists were of real importance not only for the Hessian evangelical state church, but also for protestantism at large.

Landgraf Philip appreciated the religious sensibilities of his subjects. To a certain extent he sympathized with the views of the Anabaptists. For this reason on the 20th of February, 1530, he wrote to his sister, the widowed Duchess of Saxony: "I see more real Christianity among those who are called fanatics than among those who are Lutheran." The Lutheran theologians, as well as the authorities of electoral Saxony, were conscious of this conception which Philip held and this may have been one reason why Justus Menius dedicated to him his book on the Anabaptists, entitled *Der Widdertauffer lere und geheimnis aus heiliger Schrift Widderlegt,* Wittenberg, 1530, to which Dr. Martin Luther wrote the foreword.

Landgraf Philip realized that it was impossible to secure agreement on every question of dogma and for this reason he was ready, at first at least, to grant tolerance to all the various faiths, with exception of the Catholic Church. It was only upon pressure

* Translated from the German.

from the Saxon authorities that he allowed himself to be moved from his progressive attitude. But in the matter of the punishment of the Anabaptists, he never forsook his original point of view. He looked upon Anabaptism as only an "erring child of the Reformation" (*entartetes Kind der Reformation*) and hoped in the end to be able to accomplish the return of the Anabaptists to the state church.

It is quite understandable that since the neighboring territories issued very strict mandates against the Anabaptists the persecuted folk in these territories fled into Hesse. From the middle of 1528 on, the center of this movement was the region of Hersfeld, especially the village of Sorga. The spiritual leader here was Melchior Rinck, who was priest at Hersfeld in 1523 and who became a very active leader in the Anabaptist movement after joining it in 1528. The Landgraf spared no pains to bring about Rinck's return to the state church but neither Balthasar Raidt, the pastor at Hersfeld, nor the professors of theology in the University of Marburg, were able to make him modify his position. He was imprisoned until May, 1531, and finally expelled from the country, with the command never to return to Hesse or Electoral Saxony. Rinck did not obey this command, but appeared in the same year again in Hesse. On the 11th of November, 1531, just as he was giving an address on the command of Jesus to baptize, he was arrested together with eleven hearers as the result of a search which the council of Vacha had undertaken. Since the arrest took place in the township of Hausbreitenbach, which was in the joint jurisdiction of Landgraf Philip and the Elector of Saxony, a lively dispute arose between the two states as to the punishment of the prisoners. Elector John of Saxony demanded the death penalty on the basis of an opinion which was submitted to him by his counsellors and the scholars at Wittenberg, moved also by the regulations laid down in the decree of the Diet of Speyer of April 23, 1529. Landgraf Philip preferred a milder treatment.

In order to free himself from the charge that he had undertaken nothing to stop the spread of Anabaptism in his territory, Philip issued a regulation about the middle of 1531.[1] His major emphasis was placed on the reconversion of the Anabaptists. If there was suspicion that an inhabitant of the country was inclined

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[1] Cf. Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen*, Jena, 1913, p. 57, note 1. The regulation is reprinted by Wappler in his book *Die Stellung Kursachens und des Landgrafen Philip von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung*, Münster, 1910, p. 154.

to accept the views of the Anabaptists it was first of all the duty of the pastor to diligently question him. If the questioning revealed an inclination to leave the faith and if the person under suspicion refused to modify his attitude, then it was required that a report be submitted to the superintendent of the district. The latter was then to instruct the person in question in the presence of several learned pastors. If he then accepted the teachings of the state church, he was to be released. If he were caught a second time, he was to be required to confess his error in the church and at the same time to promise to become a full participant in the church organization, and to refuse to permit Anabaptists to enter his house and no longer to fellowship with any of their representatives. If he should backslide again, he was nevertheless to be accepted if he should recant the third time, as in the preceding case, but he was required to sell half of his goods and give the receipts to the treasury for the poor.

But if anyone should refuse to yield to this instruction, the regulations prescribed further that in case he were a preacher of the Anabaptists or had baptized others, he should be expelled from the country under threat of death until he should repent and make public confession. This regulation was based upon the fact that such a preacher had illegally assumed the office of preacher and had undertaken ceremonial procedure in an illegal manner. If the preacher would accept these requirements he should be restored to the church. Those who had merely been baptized and had not preached were required to sell their lands and buildings and all property and to submit to the same regulations as the Jews, who were not permitted to possess land in the country. If the wives and children of the accused parties would return to the state church, they should be permitted to recover the lost property. Whoever was expelled from the country but nevertheless would return and not keep his oath, the same should be handed over to the civil authorities "to receive what was due him."

Melchior Rinck, who had violated his oath and refused to be moved in his convictions, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. This the Landgraf reported to Elector John of Saxony January 3, 1532. In 1540 Rinck's punishment was lightened as a result of the intervention of Martin Butzer. Since Elector Johann, on the basis of the imperial decrees, insisted upon the punishment of the rest of those who had been arrested at Hausbreitenbach, he and the Landgraf agreed to divide the prisoners and permit each prince to apply whatever punishment he saw fit to the ones that he took.

The prisoners who were assigned to Hesse recanted and were released. On the contrary, the Saxon authorities immediately executed three Anabaptists, Hans Eisfart and his wife, together with Berlet Schmidt. In the circles of the Anabaptists these executions aroused great indignation and merely aroused the members of the brotherhood to still greater zeal for their faith. Even those who had recanted now spoke out boldly in the presence of the commissioners of the Saxon and Hessian governments in favor of baptism on confession of faith. Elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony, who took over the government in 1532, insisted like his father upon the execution of the Anabaptists who had been arrested at Hausbreitenbach. He based his position upon a legal opinion of the high court at Leipzig which also demanded the death penalty.

The spread of the Anabaptist movement in Hesse led to further pressure upon the Landgraf by the neighboring states. In 1536 a group of thirty Anabaptists were surprised as they were holding services in an abandoned church near Gemünden on the Wohra (near Rosenthal, province of Kassel). Ten of these were imprisoned at Wolkersdorf (now Oberförsterei in the county of Frankenberg, province of Kassel), among them four of the leaders: George Schnabel, previously an official of the church in Allendorf, Peter Lose of Gemünden, Hermann Bastian, printer (supposedly from Marburg) and Lenhart Fälber (cf. *Rembert,* p. 450) of Jülich. They had previously been repeatedly expelled, but always returned and therefore were now subject to the penalty which the last mandate prescribed, but which the Landgraf hesitated to carry out. In order to arrive at a clear understanding in regard to the application of the death penalty in matters of faith Philip secured an opinion from the evangelical lawyers and theologians of other countries on the basis of a law issued by the previous Landtag. On the 24th of May, 1536, the request for the opinion was sent out to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, Duke Ernst of Lüneburg, the lawyers of Strassburg, Ulm and Augsburg, and the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg.

The opinion received merely strengthened the Landgraf in his previous attitude, for among the various reports received there were several which opposed the application of the death penalty in matters of faith, as for instance the opinion of the mayor and council of the city of Ulm, as well as the opinion of the theologians at Strassburg. The other theologians demanded the death penalty, as for instance the theological faculty of Tübingen, Martin Luther, Johann Bugenhagen, Caspar Gruciger, and Philip Melanch-

thon for the theological faculty at Wittenberg,[2] and Urban Rhegius for the Duke of Lüneburg. In verbose statements Rhegius declared that the worldly temporal authorities could execute with a good conscience the "accursed heretics" who seemed to him to be worse and more deserving of punishment than the most notorious criminals, since the state had the power to do this (reprinted by *Hochhuth,* 1858, pp. 556-78). The reformers at Wittenberg declared that the temporal authorities were obliged to kill the obstinate dissenters.[3] The Landgraf summoned his counsellors and theologians, together with the representatives of the nobility and the cities, to a conference at Kassel on the 7th of August, 1536, to discuss what should be the future policy in the punishment of the Anabaptists. His first act at this conference was to read the opinions which had been sent a few days earlier to the delegates to the meeting. Each one of the delegates present was then asked to state his opinion. This procedure naturally developed opposing opinions but the outstanding influence of the attitude of the ruler of the land was quite evident. It is true that there were those who demanded the death penalty for the Anabaptists and who pointed to the example of the first emperor Honorius of the western Roman empire who had received the throne in 395 as an eleven year old boy. However the more extreme views were not accepted by the conference. Some of the delegates requested the death sentence under certain conditions. For instance, one delegate wanted to have the death penalty for those Anabaptists who should return after they were expelled. In this case they would not be executed for their faith, but for disobedience to the authorities. Others demanded lifelong sentence at hard labor. The extreme opinions of the reformers however found no support. Among the theologians only pastor Justus Winther of Rotenburg favored the death penalty on the basis of the laws of the empire.

The theologians who were of a milder opinion recognized the weaknesses of the state church, especially from the point of view

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[2] The opinion of the Wittenberg faculty dated June 5, 1536, is reprinted from the original by Hochhuth in the *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie,* Band 28, Gotha, 1858, pp. 560-65. In the *Corpus Reformatorum,* III, p. 195 it is incomplete and purports to come only from Melanchthon (cf. Hochhuth, p. 591), whereas the Landgraf expressly states in a circular to the members of the Landtag that the Wittenberg opinion was composed "by Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and other scholars at Wittenberg." Cf. also Ernst Ludvig Enders, *Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel,* 1903, Band 10, p. 345.

[3] At the beginning of the year 1536 Melanchthon wrote for Landgraf Philip a treatise: *Judicium, ob christliche Fürsten Schuldig sind, der Wiedertäufer unchristlicher Sekte mit leiblicher Strafe und mit dem Schwert zu wehren* (Rembert, p. 447).

of the religious life among the people, and were quite aware of the strength of the oppressed Anabaptists who baptized upon confession of faith. For this reason it was proposed to institute a general prayer throughout the country for the conversion of the Anabaptists, and to endeavor to have the people renounce their sins in order that the Anabaptists should no longer have reason to stay away from the church. The expressions of Adam Kraft, the noted preacher, who had been professor of theology at the University of Marburg since 1528, and who was also inspector of the churches and therefore had good opportunity to learn to know the reasons why the Anabaptists stayed away from the church, are very noteworthy. He said that according to his opinion the return of the Anabaptists to the state church could be expected as soon as the more offensive sins and vices of the members of the state church should be done away with. Pastor Johann Lening of Melsungen expressed the same opinion. He said, "We should pray God that the people should change their manner of life and admonish the Anabaptists kindly and lovingly, and even if everything which the Anabaptists teach is wicked, yet we must use caution and use every means to convert them before we reach for the sword." And court preacher Melander was of the opinion that "The Anabaptist sect represents an affliction from God; for this reason general prayer should be ordained, the preachers ought diligently to preach against sectarians, the people should be admonished to improve their lives and should be told that sins will not remain unpunished, in order that the Anabaptists will find no cause in us to establish a new church. It is the duty of the authorities to punish all the evils and to punish each according to the degree of his sin" (*Hochhuth,* 1858, p. 594).

Several delegates insisted upon improvement of the existing regulations. The requests for this even included attacks against persons in the state church whose conduct was offensive to the Anabaptists. What the Anabaptists sought to attain out of inner conviction, namely a pure life, this the state church should try to accomplish in its members by pressure from the authorities.

The next step was to select a committee composed of several delegates, which was to prepare a new regulation against Anabaptists. The new regulations which were adopted the following year in the so-called "Visitationsordnung" of 1537, marked an intensification of the previous regulations and prescribed the death penalty for the Anabaptists. One can see however how much the civil and ecclesiastical authorities endeavored to meet the demands of the

Anabaptists who wanted to have religious fellowship only with persons of morally irreproachable character. The pastors and officials were required to exercise careful oversight in regard to all persons of immoral tendencies and it was made their duty to punish acts of immorality whenever they occurred.

According to the new regulations the following practices were not to be tolerated in the "Christian church:" the rejection of infant baptism and the repetition of baptism; the view that a Christian cannot accept civil office, cannot punish evil doers, cannot partake in just war, cannot receive or give interest or tithes and cannot swear proper oaths; the view that the incarnation of Jesus was not accomplished by the work of the Holy Spirit; the denial of the forgiveness of mortal sin after baptism; the acceptance of communism of goods; crimes against marriage (bigamy, or separation on the ground of divergence of faith followed by remarriage). The following acts were threatened with the death penalty: unauthorized preaching or conducting of services in the forests, in out of the way barren places, or in houses which stood alone, and the intentional attendance of such meetings; rejection of civil authority, rejection of obedience to the authorities; return after expulsion (*Hochhuth,* 1858, p. 598). The threatened penalties were not actually carried out with great severity. The penalties were in fact due to a confusion of religious and political conceptions. It is evident that these regulations were due to the influence of persons who attempted to make the ruler fear that his throne would be endangered if the Anabaptist movement should grow.

Whoever was suspected of transgressing one of the regulations was first of all to be brought to the nearest pastor and to be instructed by several learned theologians. If the attempt to enlighten and convert the erring one would be without success, then according to the regulations the persons involved should be delivered to the superintendent of the district (in Marburg, Kassel, Eschwege, Darmstadt, or St. Goar) and examined by the state counsellors of the ruler, and instructed. Whoever admitted his error was required to recant in public. Whoever had previously recanted but had backslidden, and now again repented, was compelled to make a contribution to the treasury for the benefit of the poor. Those who persisted in remaining true to their faith were treated with greater severity, but the ruler hesitated to actually apply the extreme penalty—death. "No Anabaptist shall be executed, even if the sentence has already been passed, without

reporting the matter to us first." In the instructions to the officials a difference was made between the preachers and lay members, as well as between native and foreign persons. The foreign preacher was to be beaten with rods, branded on the cheek, and expelled from the land forever, with a threat of death penalty if he should return. Were he to return, a criminal prosecution was to be initiated against him and he was to be dealt with "according to the present regulations and the imperial laws." The native preachers were to sell their property. If they did not do so within the fixed time, their houses were to be locked, the fire put out, and the property sold. The income from the sale was to be preserved until they should demand it again (which no doubt took for granted a return to the state church). They were also required under threat of death to leave the land "forever." They were to be driven out with rods and branded on the face. Whoever should return the third time was to be tortured and executed.

The lay members who were "perhaps misled due to ignorance" were to be expelled from the land if they were foreigners. If they should be caught a second time they were to be driven out with rods and branded on the face. If caught a third time, they were to be put to death. They could however save their lives if they would recant their faith. Native lay members of an Anabaptist congregation were first to be given a month's time for consideration, in which they were to be instructed by the local pastor and other theologians. Whoever would not listen to the instruction and join the state church was to sell his property. If this punishment should not avail, then he was to be driven out of the country with rods, but not to be branded on the cheek "because of his ignorance," and if this punishment should be without success, he was to be sentenced to imprisonment and kept there "until perhaps God should give him grace to repent and be converted." Prisons were to be erected for those sentenced to imprisonment where they were to be provided with slight food supplies, although they were to be permitted to have spiritual instruction, to hear the proclamation of the Word of God by a pastor of the state church, "so that God might grant His grace to them." Minor children and husband or wife who were not Anabaptists were to be dealt with as mildly as possible.

The officials dealt in a very mild manner with those who were sentenced. The magistrate of Wolkersdorf permitted the wives of the prisoners to visit them in prison. It even became possible for the men who were in prison to enlarge the hole through which

they received their food, by means of a saw which had been smuggled in, so that they could get out. They did not flee, but simply went in and out, sometimes remaining outside for weeks, during which time they would do the work at home, preach, and baptize, although they always returned to prison. This procedure was carried on for almost a year before it was discovered. During this time for instance Jörg Schnabel baptized almost thirty people.

In August, 1538, Landgraf Philip sent Gerardus Noviomagus, professor of theology at Marburg, to go with Peter Dietrich Fabritius of Stadt-Allendorf to Wolkersdorf to convert the imprisoned Anabaptist preachers, Jörg Schnabel, Peter Lose, and Lenhard Fälber. (The fourth leader of the Hessian Anabaptists, Hermann Bastian, was in Marburg). Upon their visit they discovered a booklet which Jörg Schnabel had written which was intended for the members of the brotherhood who were not imprisoned and in which he objected to the charges brought against the brotherhood in the "Visitationsordnung" of 1537. He especially attacked the assertions that they practiced communism of goods and that they rejected civil authority and had peculiar notions about marriage. In this booklet, which bears the title *Verantwurtung und Widerlegung der Artikel, so jetzund im land zu Hessen über die armen Davider, die man Wiedertäufer nent, ausgangen sind,* he defends the scripturalness of several Anabaptist principles with remarkable evidence of familiarity with the Bible (reprinted in *Hochhuth,* 1859, pp. 167-181).

In this writing by Schnabel repeated mention is made of the booklets written by Peter Tasch who originally came from Jülich (Butzer mentions four writings, *Lenz,* I, p. 50), and who had preached and baptized in the valley of the Lahn. Schnabel was in correspondence with him. A letter was also found in which Peter Tasch gave information about the quiet progress of the Anabaptist movement in England. This letter caused the Landgraf to send a joint letter in his name and that of the elector Johann Friedrich of Saxony to King Henry VIII of England, in which he called his attention to the spread of Anabaptism in his kingdom. A copy of the letter by Tasch was sent to Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. The latter was requested to prepare the letter to be sent to the English king. In this letter Melanchthon spoke of the "Pest der Wiedertaufer" which was active in Germany in many places and which did not preach the pure doctrine of the Gospel; but in those regions "where the Gospel truth is preached in its purity, praise

God, the people voluntarily flee from this pest because they are made secure against errors by mature doctrine." These remarks by Melanchthon were not quite satisfactory to the Hessian chancellor, Feige, wherefore the letter as written by Melanchthon was modified in many points, so that it was no longer so extreme (*Lenz* I, p. 320). In its new form as modified by the Hessian chancellor the letter was sent to Henry VIII on the 25th of September. Notable is an appendix which the Landgraf added to the letter as follows: "The Anabaptists are not all alike, a portion being simple, good-hearted, misled people, while another portion are dangerous, wicked, stiff-necked fellows." The Saxon translator omitted this appendix. The English government undertook severe action against the Anabaptists upon the receipt of the letter. On October 1, 1538, the chancellor Thomas Cromwell issued an order to punish "the stiff-necked Anabaptists." Many of them lost their lives at the stake.

The discussions which Noviomagus and Fabritius had on the 9th of August, 1538, with the prisoners at Wolkersdorf were a failure. The instruction of the theologians made no impression on the Anabaptist preachers. Lenhart Fälber replied with a lengthy discussion about the power of the living Word which could transform a man from evil to good and completely renew him. In the church he said the dead word was taught which did not check the sinful life of the members. Peter Lose expatiated in bitter expressions about the offensive manner of life of the Hessian preachers and teachers. In consequence the theologians could come to no agreement with the brethren. The prisoners were now taken to Marburg and put under the supervision of "Statthalter" Georg von Kolmatsch. Here likewise officials and scholars attempted to work upon them, but everything was in vain. In the meantime the movement was spreading throughout the country. Chancellor Feige, who had also conversed with the brethren, was aroused by their resistance and by the openness with which they attacked the sinful life of the members of the church. He urged the Landgraf seriously to take the matter in hand himself "and lay aside all other affairs."

The Landgraf now sent a writing to the imprisoned preachers in which he accused them of having deceived him in that they frequently were absent from prison. He had now good reason, he said, to use severe measures against them, but he wanted to be gracious once more and give them a last opportunity to let themselves be set right by a "God-fearing man."

So a final attempt was made to convert the Anabaptists to the state church by means of a discussion (*Religionsgespräch*) which was held at Marburg from October 30 to November 1, 1538, in the presence of several scholars together with the city council and delegates of the guilds in Marburg. The debate covered these topics: the ban, the church, usury,[4] baptism, magistracy, and the incarnation of Christ. Those who took part were Martin Butzer and the imprisoned Anabaptist preachers Jörg Schnabel, Lenhart Fälber, and Peter Lose. Hermann Bastian was also present. (*Hochhuth,* 1858, pp. 626-644). At first they were asked to give biblical proof for their separation from the state church. Jörg Schnabel, who was asked by Butzer to speak on behalf of the group, explained that he had first accepted the Lutheran teaching and had become at once an official in charge of the treasury for the poor. In the course of his work he noticed that the management was not always carried on in the biblical spirit. He raised objection to his pastor but received no attention for his criticisms about usury and the practise of the ban, as well as his remarks about the bad conditions in the church. He felt his conscience was bound in the sight of God, and so he could not bring himself to the point where he was willing to loan out the money of the church for interest, while many of the poor people in the community were in great need. For that reason he told the pastor, the mayor, and the council of Marburg, that they were not doing right in the matter of usury and the ban. For that reason he separated himself from them.

Butzer denied that the Anabaptists had the right to separate from the church. He said that a separation from the church could be brought about only by the church itself when it expelled those who were not willing to listen to its admonitions. Jörg had committed an error by dealing only with the pastor and failing to report to the church the evils which he had criticised to the pastor.

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[4] It is worthwhile noting that shortly after this discussion (April 14, 1539) Martin Luther also began to write a booklet on usury, which appeared with the title *An die Pfarrherrn wider den Wucher zu predigen* and which was published on Dec. 29, 1539. Since Butzer met Luther in Wittenberg shortly after the discussion in Marburg (November 20, 1538. Butzer preached on the 17th of November in Luther's pulpit in Wittenberg.) it is possible that the questions were discussed between the two which had been discussed in the debate with the Anabaptists at Marburg and that this was the cause for Luther's new booklet. That Luther was greatly exercised by these questions may be seen from the fact that he sent a letter to Landgraf Philip along with Butzer in which he gave him the advice to expel the Anabaptists from the country (cf. Enders, *op. cit.,* Vol. 12, p. 35).

When he was not willing to listen to the sermons any more he had not only shunned the pastor, but the pastor's work. Let him furnish a passage of scripture on the basis of which he would be justified to shun the pastor, the pastor's work, and the whole church, before there had been a public excommunication. There was no justification for shunning the church nor a preacher nor any other official just because the church did not throw a sinner overboard. "Even though officials should be found negligent in punishing evil, yet it was not proper for any particular member to shun them or to hold them worthy of shunning," if the church did not excommunicate them.

The Anabaptists showed no appreciation for such views. Jörg declared that the church had not dealt with him and his brethren in the spirit of the Bible. It had taken their books "and plunged them into darkness;" it had driven them from house and home, "and if one should ask the council and citizens of Marburg they would say of those who had been banished that they did not deserve it and they would recognize them as pious people." (*Hochhuth,* 1858, p. 633). Although Butzer was not willing to admit that the church in Hesse had dealt unjustly with the Anabaptists since, as he insisted, it was not the church but the authorities which had imprisoned them on account of the discord, yet Jörg's argument on this point was not without influence on Butzer's attitude for the future. "We would not want to justify injustice in the church," said Butzer. The church desired "to be one" with the Anabaptists. Butzer endeavored to compromise with the views of the Anabaptists. He stated that he did not reject the ban and that the church did not want to approve of usury. He even was willing to grant the right to refuse obedience to the authorities for conscience's sake, but he said, "if a subject should know that the authorities would demand of him to do that which is wrong he should not obey" (p. 637). Butzer's explanations that little children were baptized in the time of the Apostles made no impression on the Anabaptists. Jörg declared, "I prefer to stand by what I am sure about, namely that the Apostles baptized those who repented. I prefer to let go points on which I am uncertain." In the matter of the incarnation of Christ he explained that he would abide by the article in the general confession of faith on this point, but he believed "that God would in time help him to understand what he did not understand now."

Even though no agreement was reached on all the points un-

der discussion, and in particular in the matter of baptism, in which the prisoners maintained their position, they ultimately agreed to let themselves be influenced to resume their connection with the state church. The ecclesiastical officials hoped that now all the Anabaptists would join the state church. Possibly the concession they made to the Anabaptists in the matter of baptism, namely the introduction of confirmation, by which they hoped to bridge over the gap between the two views, was the method by which they hoped to bring about the reunion.

In his discussion on the question of baptism, Jörg Schnabel had emphasized the point that in the church the children were only baptized and nothing more was done; the children were not taught repentance and oneness of life. Butzer could not deny this fact. He therefore agreed with Schnabel and admitted that something would have to be done in this matter, namely, "the children should be catechized diligently when they came to an age of accountability and should be taught to observe everything that the Lord had commanded" (*Hochhuth*, 1858, p. 637). The accusations which Schnabel brought against the state church were now to be met by the introduction of a procedure hitherto unknown in the churches of the reformation, namely the introduction of general instruction for the youth, followed by confirmation, in order that the Anabaptists might no longer be offended by the neglect of the religious care of the youth. Butzer wrote to the Landgraf on the 17th of November, 1538, from Wittenberg whither he had gone after the discussion at Marburg, that the Anabaptists could not be dealt with in a way that would be of more use to the church and at the same time the common people more effectively guarded against them, "than by a better organization of Christian life and the more earnest application of Christian discipline" (*Lenz* I, p. 53).

The Anabaptists did not join the church without conditions. Following the discussion at Marburg they submitted a writing to the Landgraf on the 9th of December, 1538, entitled *Bekenntnis oder Antwort etlicher Fragestücke oder Artikeln der gefangenen Täufer und Anderer im Land zu Hessen*" (reprinted by *Hochhuth*, 1858, pp. 612-22). In this writing they pointed out once more how the church was lacking in its conflict against sin among the people and did not bring up the people to thankfulness and love toward God and to the praise of the Gospel. They expressed to him their conception of baptism, of the Lord's Supper, of the ban, and of swearing of oaths, and finally declared, "as soon as we feel that

all possible diligence is used to apply the ban according to the ordinance of Christ and the Apostles, we are willing with our whole heart to gladly enter into fellowship with the church, even though perfection may not be attained at once (p. 620). . . . We promise to conduct ourselves toward the whole church and toward everyone in a free, brotherly, just, and serviceable fashion, just as we desire that everyone should conduct himself toward us" (p. 622). This writing, which was signed by Peter Tasch, Jörg and Ludwig Schnabel of Allendorf, Lenhart Fälber, Thonig Möler, Christian of Odenhausen, Jungheim of Geyssen, Cautz Schmyt of Horbach and Peter Lose of Gmünden, was turned over by the Landgraf to his theologians for examination (Martin Butzer, Johannes Kymäus, Dionysius Melander, Johannes Pistorius, and Justus Winther). In their reply it is interesting to note that they scarcely contradicted at all the shortcoming and failings of the pastors which the Anabaptists attacked, but much rather expressed themselves in regard to those points which dealt with the doctrine of faith and good works. On this point they hoped that "there are not many among the preachers of our confession who did not frequently and faithfully preach after this fashion. But we do not desire to defend ourselves nor others any further (p. 623) . . . and therefore have no quarrel with them in this first point, but rather agree in Christian peace" (p. 624).

The theologians complained of a shortcoming in the statements of the Anabaptists in that "they were not willing to confess more expressly and willingly their sin and grievous wickedness which they have been guilty of against the church and the congregation of Christ and its ministers and members, along with all sorts of not insignificant errors and false teachings, but rather lay the entire blame for their separation from the church on us and our shortcomings" (p. 625). But if the Anabaptists should desist from their meetings and teachings, should attend the services of the church, should cease to despise and object to infant baptism, should let their children be baptized "since these are born into the church still more than unto their parents," take the oath, assume the obligations of citizens in military service and other matters, and reunite themselves with the church, then they should be accepted with the patience and love of Christ in the hope that they would "by their Christian and kindly association, their faithful admonition, and their devoted living, help to edify the church indeed and bring about true church discipline and the exercise of the Christian ban." Furthermore, no pain should be spared in the

church to make matters right and wherever neglect should appear and the Anabaptists or any other persons should call attention of the leaders in the church to the matter, "we faithfully promise to do our best by the grace of God so that men may see that we are concerned about Christian discipline" (p. 626). "These brethren," as the Anabaptists are now called, "should be gladly forgiven for everything they have ever done against the church. On the other hand the Anabaptists should also forgive if they feel that they have been dealt with too severely.

This opinion of the theologians stands in sharp antithesis to the previous attitude of the Hessian clergy. In it a high regard for the attitude of the Anabaptists can be recognized, a response which was bound to make an impression on the Anabaptist leaders as soon as they were able to realize the emphasis which was being put upon their endeavor to promote holiness, and how much good effect on the church was anticipated as a result of their coöperation. From this point of view it would not be right to say that it was only the noted dialectical ability of Martin Butzer which was the cause of the bridging over of the differences in the discussions with the Anabaptists, but rather the sincere endeavor of the theologians to make available to the state church the teachings of the Anabaptists which seemed to them to be worthy of acceptance.

The new discipline for the Hessian church was undertaken at once. By the end of November, 1538, the synod met at Ziegenhain and adopted the new discipline. It appeared in print in the following year. In this discipline it is quite easy to see the influence of the discussions with the Anabaptists. The discipline required that "all children as soon as they are old enough should be sent to the catechetical instruction which shall be arranged at each place at such a time that it will not be a burden to send the children" (*Diehl,* p. 17).

With this regulation which rose out of the struggle between the state church and Anabaptism, the Hessian state church created an institution which was introduced at first in the evangelical state church in Hesse and then in the following three centuries gradually into all the evangelical churches of Germany under the name "confirmation," that is, a ratification of the baptism which had been performed upon infants which were as yet unaware of what was being done.

The attitude of the Landgraf to the reforms which arose out of the discussions with the Anabaptists is of importance. In his instruction to the members of the government he said:

"My dear counsellors and retainers: We have read the decisions of the synod which has just met at Ziegenhain concerning the ban, confirmation, and the Anabaptists and desire to make known that we are graciously pleased with the decisions, but we have noticed several points which seemed thus to be in part unbalanced and in part possibly not clear.

"As regards the application of the ban, especially at the beginning, in the attempt to prevent a falling away from the Gospel, prevent strife and offence, we have fears that this may be misused just as was the case in former times, and that the ban may not be applied with Christian sympathy and modesty. We also fear that not all preachers and pastors have equal gifts in the matter of teaching or in common sense or in Christian modesty, and feel therefore that the ban should be introduced everywhere in all parishes at once, but should first be applied in the cities and villages where the most able and most learned preachers are to be found, as for instance at Kassel and at Marburg, so that we can see how things go and so that the other preachers and pastors who are not so able should observe and learn thereby how the ban should be exercised. . . . We express ourselves thus also because we have heard that the scholars who were present at the synod are also of this opinion and feel that so far as the ban is concerned, it should not yet be publicly announced in the church or in printed form, but should first be tried out in the various places as mentioned above.

"In the matter of the Anabaptists and their punishment, it will be necessary that you, our Chancellor, should go into this matter and should prepare a proper regulation in accordance with our command which everyone may clearly understand and accept. It shall have the following form: If an Anabaptist should do this, he should be punished for it; if he should do that, he should be punished with a more serious punishment. Further, it is necessary to note that when Anabaptists are about to be punished or sentenced they will probably cry out in public and say, for they are well able to speak, 'Dear people, we are suffering very much to-day on account of our faith and on account of righteousness.' Thereupon the poor, common, ignorant people will no doubt be much offended and embittered in spirit. Therefore it would be better not to sentence an Anabaptist unless it is made known in advance to our counsellors at Kassel and Marburg, and furthermore that they should not be sentenced anywhere except at Kassel and Marburg. Further, if such a one should be sentenced, several officials must

be on hand to explain to the people that we are punishing the Anabaptist for this or that transgression, and the preachers are to publicly proclaim to the people that the Anabaptists are in error on this or that point and are misleading the people. All this should be done in order that the people may hear that the Anabaptists are not being punished for the true Christian faith and for righteousness' sake but because of their transgression and disobedience, and also that they may learn that the Anabaptists are in error in this and that point and are unrighteous, in order that these errors may become offensive to the people and that they may learn to save themselves from them. In Kassel the following persons should do this, namely the Chancellor and two or three of the most able preachers, such as Dionysius Melander and Johannes Pistorius, while at Marburg it is to be the Statthalter and two or three of their most learned preachers, such as Master Adam and others."

These decisions and regulations give abundant evidence of the extent to which the struggle against the Anabaptists influenced the religious and moral life of the country. The officials desired to really educate and train the populace in the proper manner but were aware of the difficulties attending such endeavors. This is the reason for the cautious method of introducing the ban. Compulsory membership in the state church was incompatible with the application of the ban according to the principles of the Anabaptists. For this reason one of the two had to be dropped if there was not to be continual conflict. The principle of the Anabaptists which was based upon the assumption of freedom in religious matters simply could not be applied without modification of the state church. For this reason the introduction of the ban in the Hessian church never got beyond the stage of experimentation.

The Anabaptists in the country appear to have taken a distrustful attitude toward the assurances which had been given their leaders at Marburg. They could not reconcile the threats of punishment in case of refusal to rejoin the state church with their conception of freedom of faith and conscience. They hesitated to enter into permanent union with a church in which the sword of civil authority exercised dominant influence in matters of faith. Martin Butzer understood their attitude, as is evident from the proposal which he made to the Landgraf November 4, 1538, to send out the Anabaptist preachers who had already entered the state church as missionaries to win over their followers. In this proposal he says: "There are more of the Anabaptists in your

Highness' land than I had supposed and among them are many good-hearted people who are so suspicious of us preachers that they will not accept anything or at least very little from us. If therefore they are threatened with punishment the result is that the most pious among them will simply be strengthened in their attitude, for they will thereby think that they are suffering for the Lord's sake, whereas those who yield, usually do it against their conscience and for this reason they will not remain steadfast in their new faith or will forsake all religion and thereby become the most infamous people which can be found, just as I have experienced in many cases" (*Lenz,* p. 51).

According to Butzer's report Peter Tasch is said to have prevailed upon about two hundred people of the Anabaptist group to return to the state church. We learn later of various other commissions which Tasch, Bastian, Jörg Schnabel, and Peter Lose received in the matter of winning back their previous comrades in faith for the Hessian church. However they were not able to accomplish any great success. (*Lenz* I, p. 325). Peter Tasch followed Butzer to Strassburg. What Butzer had said to the Landgraf concerning such Anabaptists who yielded to pressure against their conscience (in his letter of November 4, 1538), was demonstrated in his case. Tasch not only gave up his faith but later the ethical principles of Anabaptism as well. He led an extravagant life, fell into debt, deceived his creditors, and finally disappeared from the city about 1560. (*Rembert,* p. 457).

The Anabaptist movement in Hesse was by no means suppressed by these measures. Quite a number of Anabaptists remained steadfast to their faith. On the 22nd of January, 1544, the Landgraf wrote to Master Adam that he intended "to drive out of the country the Anabaptists who were not willing to accept the articles which had been accepted by Schnabel, Tasch, and others" (*Hochhuth,* 1858, p. 181).

In order to escape the continued pressure by civil and ecclesiastical authorities, many Anabaptists migrated to Moravia, where they joined the Hutterites,[5] whose missionaries for a long time regularly visited their co-religionists in Hesse. For instance in July, 1544, a company of twelve travelers whose leaders, Peter and Jacob, had already suffered several imprisonments in Hesse

[5] [Editor's Note.] From other evidence it seems probable that some of the Anabaptists had already become Hutterites in Hesse.

on account of their teaching and baptizing, were arrested by Hessian officers (*Hochhuth,* 1859, p. 208). They had decided to emigrate on account of the order which they had received to participate in the war, which was against their faith.

Although Landgraf Philip was very anxious to restore unity of religious faith in his country and threatened with severe penalties all who resisted his program, he nevertheless did not permit himself to be brought to the point where he gave his consent to the actual application of the death penalty. At the end of his long reign (he died on March 31, 1567) he could set down these words in his last will: "We have never killed a human being because he did not believe aright." He admonished his sons to follow his example.

After Philip's death his country was divided into four districts. Wilhelm received the principality of lower Hesse with its capital Kassel, Ludwig received upper Hesse with its capital Marburg, Philip received the lower county of Katzenellenbogen with St. Goar, while George received the upper county of Katzenellenbogen with Darmstadt.

In the "Reformationsordnung" of 1572 which included regulations taken from the mandate of 1539 against the Anabaptists, Landgraf Wilhelm fixed the highest penalty against Anabaptists as expulsion from the country. These regulations also provided that if the instruction of the Anabaptists should be in vain the superintendent should sell the property of such persons within fourteen days. However in contrast to the usual practise in other countries, the guilty persons retained the right to dispose of the proceeds. If the property was not sold within the set time of fourteen days the officials were required to sell it at the best possible price and hand over the proceeds to the guilty persons as soon as they had passed a point twelve miles[6] outside of the border. However if the guilty persons should voluntarily leave the country on request they were permitted to retain their property and rent it and later sell it. If they should return to the state church their transgressions should be forgiven them.

Landgraf Wilhelm had previously manifested his more tolerant attitude toward the Anabaptists when the synod of Kassel laid before him in 1569 the question whether children of Ana-

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6 The German mile was equal to about six English miles. The prescribed distance was therefore seventy-two miles.

baptist parents should be forcibly baptized. The Landgraf had received several opinions from his advisors. For instance superintendent Dr. Johannes Marbach of Strassburg, who had participated in the debate with the Anabaptists at Pfeddersheim in 1557, and who had published a book entitled *Prozess* in which he recommended to the authorities the death penalty for Anabaptists, recommended that the children of Anabaptists should be forcibly baptized against the will of their parents. Matthias Flacius Illyricus gave the same opinion. Landgraf Wilhelm however could not accept this point of view. It appeared to him that there were more arguments from human reason in the opinions than proofs out of the Bible. According to him, although the authorities had the power to compel their subjects to obey, he thought that it was quite questionable whether this power extended so far as to control the conscience which God alone was to judge. The Landgraf therefore had serious doubts about applying forcible baptism. In his mind a Christian ruler frequently had to make concessions to prevent harm and to maintain Christian love. To drive out of the country the "poor misled folk" or to inaugurate compulsory baptism might encourage Catholic princes to similar procedure against the evangelicals. He was supported in his opinion by the opinion which the Hessian superintendents Johannes Pistorius of Nidda and Johannes Gidarius submitted. Both of them pointed out the prevailing disorderliness among the members of the state church, which was frequently advanced by the Anabaptists as the reason for their separation from the church. (Cf. the article on Heppe, *Menn. Lexikon,* II, p. 284).

It is worthwhile noticing in this letter several expressions by Anabaptist leaders. For instance, Martin Richter declared to the superintendents and preachers: "The teaching on infant baptism is incorrect, and likewise there is little improvement in life to be noticed among the members of the evangelical church." Even threat of punishment against him made no impression, so that he finally said he could not give up the truth which he had accepted but must be patient and suffer whatever he was to suffer. He requested however that he should be dealt with according to the regulations of the ruler and should be permitted to leave the country with his wife and child. Another Anabaptist, Hans Kuchenbecker of Hatzbach, expressed himself as follows to the Chancellor, preachers, and counsellors at Marburg, on February 5, 1577, that he had observed very little improvement of life among

the preachers and their hearers, and he did not desire to belong to such a crowd.

The remnants of the Anabaptist church in Hesse were not wiped out until the Thirty Years' War but their influence continued even beyond that time. Superintendent Dr. theol. K. W. H. Hochhuth, the first scholar to work through the Anabaptist archives in Hesse, asserts "that the principle of ethical mysticism which lay at the roots of the Anabaptist movement could not be suppressed, and that it is impossible to deny the influence which Anabaptism exercised upon the life of the church. The movement certainly contributed a great deal toward reinvigorating church life and strengthening the grasp on old and almost forgotten redemptive principles" (*Hochhuth,* 1859, p. 234). A later scholar, Eduard Becker, writes as follows in a monograph on *The Anabaptists in Upper Hesse* (*Die Wiedertäufer in Oberhessen*): "It is noteworthy that a considerable number of villages which were known to have been centers of Anabaptism later became centers of pietism and in our day are now centers of the 'Gemeinschaften.'"

Although Anabaptism was suppressed, it exerted its influence upon the public life of Hesse. A modern scholar in church law, Dr. Walter Sohm, comments as follows on the consequences of the reunion of the Anabaptist leaders with the State Church: "It is impossible to fail to recognize that Butzer and the Landgraf accomplished an extraordinary thing in this reunion . . . their procedure did not mean the destruction of the movement as was the case in electoral Saxony; it meant the fortunate assimilation of the movement, the winning over of opposing forces and the exploitation of the movement with all its strength for the promotion of the purpose of the church. Nevertheless Christian society did not come out of this struggle without a loss. The Anabaptism which had been suppressed breathed something of its spirit into the body of the whole Hessian church life. . . . The conception of the pastoral office as having for its sole function the preaching of the Word was restricted by adding to it a disciplinary task in the church of Christ which was quite un-Lutheran. This was done by the inauguration of the church ban which was set up in the disciplinary regulations of 1539 adopted at Ziegenhain. . . . The legitimate state church movement and the sectarian side movement were united. In this act the last and decisive word was spoken as to the public character of the Hessian church society in so far as it undertook at all the education of its Christian subjects. . . . The sup-

pressed Anabaptist revolution had its effect in the life of Hesse. It left a heritage therein which bore its characteristics" (*Sohm*, pp. 163-166).

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Editor's Note. It might be interesting to note that according to the *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* p. 150, the great missionary apostle of the Hutterites, Peter Riedemann, was sent to Hesse in 1539 on request of the Brethren in Hesse. A letter is given which he wrote from Hesse to Hans Amon. By December he was back in Moravia (p. 155). In 1540 Riedemann was again sent to Hesse (p. 164). On this trip he was arrested and imprisoned at Marburg and Wolkersdorf (p. 166). It was in prison at Wolkersdorf that he wrote the famous *Rechenschaft* during the summer of 1540 (pp. 167 and 270). A letter written from the prison at Wolkersdorf is given entire in the *Geschichtbuch,* pp. 167-175. According to the death notice of Riedemann (p. 269) he was in prison in Marburg and Wolkersdorf slightly more than a year and a half. In 1542 he returned from prison in Wolkersdorf to Moravia (p. 180). There he served as headpastor from this time till his death in 1566. The relation of Riedemann to the Anabaptist movement in Hesse is however problematical.

EARLY MENNONITE SUNDAY SCHOOLS OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO

John Umble

II

ZION (BLUFFTON) CONGREGATION

Nearly two decades after the Mennonites settled on the Blanchard River in Putnam county, John Thut founded the Zion congregation* in Richland township, Allen county. Without John Thut this congregation probably would not have come into being. Born February 2, 1801, in Canton Berne, Switzerland, he came to America with his parents in 1825 and after living in Virginia for a short time seems to have united with the Swiss (Sonnenberg) congregation in Wayne county. Being a carpenter by trade and accordingly finding it inconvenient to observe the regulation requiring men to wear no suspenders on their trousers, he had one suspender made at home and wore it at his work. When he was excommunicated for this violation of the church discipline, he with some of his brothers and a sister, Magdalena (Mrs. Christian Burkholder), united with the Longenecker congregation in Holmes county, Ohio. He was a charter member of the Kolb church in Walnut Creek township and a member of the building committee for the erection of Kolb's meetinghouse in 1836. Here, on September 13, 1832, he married Christina Bechtel, born October 13, 1813, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. September 25, 1843, Thut was chosen by lot and ordained to the ministry. Five years later, apparently lured by the glowing reports of the rapid growth and economic prosperity of the Mennonite church in Elkhart county, Indiana, he and his wife decided to move to that place. The eldest of their nine children, Nancy, was not yet fifteen years old, and the youngest was six weeks. They set out about May 25 and reached the Swiss Mennonite settlement near Bluffton the first week in June. They were moving the household goods and the family in two wagons and were stopping overnight at various Mennonite settlements on the way. In Allen county, he stopped for the

* Until 1892 when the new church house was built the congregation took its name from a small stream, Riley Creek, where baptismal services were held.

night with Peter Bixel, Sr., a former Holmes county neighbor who had moved, some years before, near Shannon, now Bluffton. Peter Bixel, Sr., whose wife, Verena Sutter, had been the first white child born in the settlement, tried hard to persuade his friend not to go on to Elkhart county. Struck by the fertility of the soil and pleased at the prospect of finding a home among his Swiss Mennonite friends, Thut decided to locate here, although, because the Swiss did not practice the ordinance of washing the saints' feet, his wife very reluctantly consented to abandon their earlier intention of locating in Elkhart county with the strong American Mennonite colony there and tried to exact from her husband a promise to return to Holmes county for communion services with her at least once a year. Thut lost no time in deciding to remain in Allen county, Ohio. On June 9, 1848, he acquired title to one hundred forty-eight acres of improved land northwest of Bluffton adjoining his friend Bixel's farm for eighteen hundred dollars. The high price is to be explained by the fact that most of the land was cleared. It is a beautifully rolling tract watered by Riley Creek. Twelve years earlier most of the land in this vicinity was selling under five dollars per acre. On April 13, 1872, twenty-four years later, his executors, David Boesiger (Basinger) and C. P. Steiner, and his widow, Christina Thut, sold one hundred forty-three acres of the original purchase to Frederick Geiger for seven thousand four hundred eighty-four dollars.

For the first six months after John Thut's removal to Allen county, the Swiss Mennonite ministers shared their pulpit with him and the whole group worked together harmoniously. When the time for the communion service arrived, however, John Thut insisted on observing the ordinance of feetwashing in connection with the Lord's Supper. The other ministers and a large part of the congregation considered this an unnecessary innovation. Then, in an entirely friendly spirit, Thut withdrew from them and organized his sympathizers into a separate congregation. For nearly fourteen years they had no meetinghouse, but held services in the homes. Services were frequently held in Deacon Samuel Hochstettler's barn about two and one-half miles south-west of Bluffton and in the large residence of David Boesiger one mile north of Ebenezer church.

Thut's first helper in the ministry was his son-in-law, Isaac Steiner. When, after the death of Steiner's wife, Nancy Thut, he married a member of the Winebrennerians (now Church of God), he sometimes went to church with her. There he was invited to

lead in prayer and occasionally to open the services with Scripture reading and prayer. To the members of Thut's congregation this action on the part of one of their ministers was so distasteful that Thut sent two members to Steiner to protest. The committee handled him so roughly that he withdrew from the church altogether. Many of the members of Thut's congregation, having recently come from Switzerland, observed slightly different customs from the older American Mennonites. But Thut, assisted by the energetic, uncompromising preaching of the bishops in the neighboring congregations, succeeded in persuading his members to conform to the standards of the (old) Mennonites in the Ohio congregations. On one occasion, for instance, when Bishop John M. Brenneman was visiting the Riley Creek congregation, he preached so pointedly and so forcefully against the delicate fringes of lace bordering the women's caps that many of them went home in tears. But the lace disappeared. Eventually when the Ohio bishops were satisfied with the discipline of the congregation, they decided to allow the Zion people to have a resident bishop. On October 7, 1857, John Thut received the unanimous vote of his congregation and was ordained bishop, probably by Bishop John M. Brenneman. At that time the congregation had no meetinghouse. Thut was ordained bishop in his own barn. It seems likely that, when Bishop Henry Stemen of Allen county had looked about for a successor in the early fifties, he considered John Thut, but not being satisfied with the discipline of the Riley Creek congregation, he had finally selected John M. Brenneman of Franklin county.

During the previous year, 1856, before Thut's ordination as bishop, Christian Bare had been ordained to the ministry. This talented, though uneducated young minister, had been born in Rockingham county, Virginia, on May 6, 1816, had moved with his parents to Columbiana county, Ohio, and there married Esther Shank, sister of Henry N. Shank, October 16, 1837. He seems to have accompanied his brother-in-law, Henry N. Shank, to Putnam county in 1840. This Henry N. Shank was a cousin to Bishop John M. Shenk's father and was married to a sister of Christian Bare. Not long after his ordination Christian Bare was offered a farm if he would move to Elkhart county and preach there. Accordingly he and his family, in 1857, moved to Elkhart county, Indiana, where he later joined Bishop Jacob Wisler in the founding of the Wisler church and died September 24, 1904, in his eighty-ninth year. John F. Funk writes that he heard this Chris-

tian Bare preach two sermons at Yellow Creek about 1874 that for "beauty of thought, for appropriateness, for practical instruction, and plain and pointed, yet inoffensive, applications, were ideal sermons." He further states that "for spiritual power and practical edification" neither Beecher, nor Talmage nor D. L. Moody "left impressions on the mind like the plain teachings" of this Mennonite minister. Christian Bare and his wife lived together for sixty-seven years. She was born in Augusta county, Virginia, October 2, 1815, and died in Elkhart county, Indiana, April 11, 1906, in her ninety-first year. For many years Henry N. Shank and his family went to Indiana to observe communion with their Elkhart county friends and relatives even after his brother-in-law had cast his lot with Bishop Jacob Wisler. Later, however, Henry N. Shank united with the Riley Creek congregation.

After his ordination as bishop, John Thut became very prominent in the church work of the Ohio conference. From Williams county to Columbiana and Mahoning, his was a familiar figure. He went here and there, usually on foot, preaching and administering the rites of the church. He was especially interested in a small group of believers in Paulding county. Here lived his Swiss friend and former Holmes county neighbor John Hilty. Fred Geiger, twenty-four years old and single, had been attracted to Paulding county by the vast areas of uncut timber, and February 6, 1862, had purchased land at the junction of Flat Rock Creek and the Miami Extension Canal in Auglaize township. Two years later he returned to Allen county to persuade Elizabeth Hilty, daughter of John and Catherine (Neuschwander) Hilty to share his forest home with him. They were married February 22, 1864. The next spring her parents also moved to Paulding county. Bishop John Thut visited them in June. He had probably known them in Switzerland. Mrs. John Hilty and he had been born in the same Swiss canton, Berne. On Sunday June 12, Bishop Thut conducted services at the home of Moses Augstpurger, another Swiss friend (probably the Hilty homestead was not yet completed). The next day he preached at the home of Franz Remler where he received three people into the church through water baptism and then observed the communion of the Lord's Supper with them. After his return home, he appealed on their behalf through the columns of the *Herald of Truth*. He states that he has visited them three times, that they still have no minister, and that Bishops Isaac Hoffer of Williams county, Jonas Shank of Putnam county, and John M. and George Brenneman of Allen and Putnam, respectively,

should visit them occasionally. It seems likely that he repeated this visit in June of the next year when Mrs. Frederick Geiger was baptized, and it is certain that he preached at Blanchard on June 10, 1866. He would hardly have omitted walking the additional sixteen miles from Blanchard to Paulding at that time. Bishop Thut died the next year and the colony rapidly declined.

Frederick Geiger seems to have prospered in the lumber business. He purchased several tracts along the canal and creek, removed the timber, and then resold the land at a handsome advance in price. At times he seems to have been so busy that he neglected to record the deed for any given quarter section until he disposed of it. Older residents still point out the spot where the saw-mill stood just north of the viaduct which carried the waters of the canal thirty or forty feet above the surface of the creek. As one stands here on the high canal bank, the imagination experiences little difficulty in reconstructing the busy scene at the mill-site and the low-riding barges with their freight of fragrant freshly-sawed hard wood lumber. Failing to induce a minister to settle here and despairing of founding a Mennonite settlement, Geiger sold his steam saw-mill and his home February 24, 1870, for fifty-six hundred dollars and returned to Allen county where two years later he purchased the Bishop John Thut homestead near Bluffton. After Deacon David Boesiger left the church with Abraham Steiner, Frederick Geiger was ordained deacon at Riley Creek and served faithfully in that capacity until his death about thirty-five years later (January 17, 1916). At first on coming to Paulding he had signed his name in German, "Fredrick Giger." Abstractors have found his script difficult to decipher. More than one clerk has misread the name, "Frederick Lyons." Before he returned to Allen he was writing his name in English, "Geiger."

Geiger's brother-in-law, David H. Hilty, who had been buying land in Paulding ever since he was nineteen years old, married, at the age of twenty-one, Bishop John Thut's daughter Elizabeth on April 26, 1866, and brought her to Paulding, but he seems to have sold his holdings at a loss in August of the same year and to have returned to Allen county. Twenty-eight years later he was ordained at Zion (formerly Riley Creek) to be pastor of the newly-organized Mennonite church at West Liberty, Logan County. The father, John Hilty sold the last of his property, a sixty-one acre tract just east of the former home of Frederick Geiger, for four thousand dollars and returned to Bluffton. One of John Hilty's sons, Peter, husband of Frederick Geiger's sister, was a shrewd

dealer in land and made several good trades, but, when he began to do a large business in both city and rural real estate, he met with reverses and lost all his property. When he was elected to and accepted a civil office, he was excommunicated, and after a time his relatives lost all trace of him. Several of his brothers also were lost to the church. Thus the Paulding county venture was a signal failure from the standpoint of establishing a new Mennonite congregation. The outcome might have been different if Bishop John Thut had lived.

For the Riley Creek congregation Bishop Thut's death was nothing short of a calamity. He was taken away by typhoid fever in the full robust vigor of active manhood, his raven-black hair and large well-kept black beard still untouched with gray. Since there was no typhoid epidemic in the Bluffton-Pandora community in 1867 and his death was the only one in the entire settlement in that year, it seems likely that he contracted the disease on one of the home missionary tours that carried him on foot to Paulding, Seneca, Wood, and other low-lying northwestern Ohio counties or to Blanchard in Putnam county where typhoid, ague, and malaria were well-nigh perennial. Like other brave unselfish spirits of pioneer days, he literally "gave his life for his sheep." The funeral service was held in his own barn. Bishop John Moser of the Swiss church preached the funeral sermon. Riley Creek congregation had not then begun to use the tiny lot behind their meetinghouse for a burial ground. Hence they laid their bishop to rest among his Swiss friends in the old Swiss Mennonite cemetery just north of Riley Creek where he had often administered the rite of baptism to candidates for church membership as they knelt in the waters of the stream. The next year his fifteen-year-old daughter, Sarah, also a victim of typhoid, was buried beside her father. His other nine children all lived to maturity and reared families. Few Ohio bishops number among their descendants a larger group of Christian workers and successful professional men and women. His wife survived him more than a quarter of a century. When she died in her eighty-first year, November 15, 1893, there was no more room in the old Swiss cemetery. The community had been torn by religious controversy until there were now four separate congregations, four meeting-houses, and four new cemeteries within a narrow radius of the original burying ground on the banks of Riley Creek. The Riley Creek (old) Mennonite congregation had purchased eighty-one square rods adjoining their meetinghouse plot on the west, and there the widow of the bishop was buried several miles from the grave of her husband.

The first deacon of the Riley Creek congregation was Samuel Hochstetler, a very short man of few words and simple habits. He was especially skilled in making wooden forks and rakes. According to tradition he owned and studied the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses and in consequence possessed certain occult powers. After his death, David Boesiger was chosen by lot and ordained deacon on New Year's Day, 1866. He is described as a tall man with a large red beard. He was a brother to Preacher Peter Boesinger, of Columbiana county, and his wife, Elizabeth, was a Blosser, sister to Christian Blosser, son-in-law of Bishop Thut. To take the place of Christian Bare, who had moved to Elkhart county, Indiana, the congregation called David Geiger to the ministry, probably about 1858. At first he seemed to be an earnest preacher, and he spoke with great eloquence. The church appeared to be in a prosperous condition and then on August 23, 1867, as stated above, Bishop John Thut died of typhoid fever.

With the death of Bishop Thut began a long period of difficulty for the Riley Creek congregation. Through some misunderstanding David Geiger became offended and left the church. Later he united with the New Mennonite (Herrite) church, but eventually left that church also. When J. F. Funk went to Elida in August, 1868, to organize a Sunday school at the Salem church, he visited the Riley Creek congregation. He seemed to think that David Boesiger, Peter Hartman, and C. P. Steiner were carrying the burden of the work in keeping the congregation together and he spoke bitterly of Geiger for neglecting his charge. In the next year neighboring bishops decided to ordain two ministers for Riley Creek church. When the congregation met on Sunday, February 21, 1869, to elect candidates for the lot, five men were chosen. The lot fell on Abraham and Christian P. Steiner. They were not near relatives, but Abraham was a brother of Isaac Steiner, Bishop Thut's first assistant at Zion. During the next few years the congregation and the two young ministers worked together very agreeably and the church prospered. Until the time when his health failed, John M. Brenneman exercised bishop oversight of the congregation. Following Bishop Thut's death, Brenneman united Peter B. Thut, the late bishop's youngest son, in marriage to Mary Steiner, niece of Isaac and Abraham Steiner. This was the first wedding ceremony that he ever performed and tradition records that he became very nervous on this occasion. It was probably Bishop Brenneman who ordained Abraham Steiner and C. P. Steiner. Abraham Steiner had married the widowed daughter of

Samuel Hostetler, the first deacon, Mrs. Mary Ann (Hostetler) Kohli.

For some reason trouble arose between the ministers during the next few years. Unfortunately Peter Hartman, an important stay in the church, died in 1871. Naturally, it is difficult to get an unbiased opinion of the difficulty in the congregation, but tradition is probably not far from correct in reporting that Abraham Steiner wished to become bishop. Local jealousies also entered in. Misunderstanding arose over a double wedding in the deceased bishop's family to which the families of the deacon and of Preacher Abraham Steiner had not been invited because the house was too small and the families of those who were not invited were very large. This wedding occurred January 10, 1871, and the trouble between the ministers grew until about 1877. It must be remembered, however, that when the breach finally came Deacon David Boesiger sided with Preacher Abraham Steiner and that much more than half of the congregation upheld his course in the contention. At least part of the difficulty was due to the differing viewpoints of the two men. C. P. Steiner, as the years passed, grew more and more progressive, while Abraham Steiner became increasingly more conservative. On one occasion, for instance, Abraham had gone to New Stark to preach for the Mennonite brotherhood there before they had built a meetinghouse. When he learned that services had been announced for him in the Presbyterian church and that he was to speak from a raised pulpit, he had great difficulty in satisfying his conscience on this point. He protested that to "go up" signified pride, whereas a child of God should be willing to "come down."

It should be remembered that throughout the controversy between the two young ministers, Abraham Steiner upheld the traditional Swiss Mennonite attitude. During that period the Swiss congregation was much more conservative in dress, manners, and customs than the congregation led by Bishop John Thut and his successors. C. P. Steiner emphasized a more progressive program of Christian life and work and favored greater freedom in Christian fellowship and activity.

Eventually the situation became so serious that the Ohio Conference appointed an investigating committee. Bishop John M. Greider, Bishop George Brenneman, Bishop John Christophel of Elkhart County, Indiana, and C. B. Brenneman were members of this committee. All of the members of the committee except Christophel were ready to silence Abraham Steiner and to ab-

solve C. P. Steiner from blame. Christophel, however, insisted on exactly the opposite course. After wrestling with the problem for many days without success, the committee, to the surprise and disappointment of both factions, decided to silence both ministers. Abraham Steiner defied the committee and left the conference taking with him, as stated above, the deacon, David Boesiger, and more than half of the congregation. They held services in their homes for a time and then accepted the invitation of Henry Egly, founder of the Egly Amish, to join forces with the new conference, later called Defenseless Mennonites. Abraham Steiner continued faithful to the end of his life ministering to the spiritual needs of his flock; but Deacon David Boesiger became a disciple of John Alexander Dowie; some of his descendants, however, are faithful members of the Egly (Defenseless Mennonite) church near Bluffton. Some united with the "Mission" church.

The leader of the minority group, who, however, continued the Thut congregation, was the above-mentioned C. P. Steiner, descended from an old Swiss Mennonite family dating back to the Reformation. His father Peter D. Steiner had been a minister and bishop for a number of years. For four generations before him there had been a minister of the gospel in the Steiner family. Christian P. was born, August 19, 1832, near Sterling, Ohio, and died near Bluffton, Ohio, July 28, 1910. He came to Allen county in 1855 and bought a farm about six miles west of Bluffton near Rockport (formerly Cranberry). His first wife, Magdalena Blosser (sister to Mrs. David Boesiger), to whom he was married November 3, 1857, died in 1858. He married as his second wife, Barbara Thut, daughter of Bishop John Thut. He had united with the Swiss Mennonite church in Wayne county in 1850 and, as already stated above, was ordained to the ministry in the American Mennonite church near Bluffton by Bishop John M. Brenneman February 17, 1869. He seemed more inclined to do pastoral work than to sermonize and, as will appear later, was greatly interested in the active propagation of the Mennonite faith. While profoundly attached to the faith of his fathers, he was not narrow or sectarian. He was one of the strongest advocates of a Mennonite General Conference and an active promoter of Sunday School Conference, missions, and other forward-looking phases of the program of the church. In the eighties when Mennonites and Amish still held aloof from each other, his warm friendship with the Amish ministers of Logan county, Christian K. Yoder and David Plank, and their high regard for him, present

ample proof of his wholesome non-sectarianism and the soundness and unselfishness of his attitude. Both of these outstanding Amish preachers spoke from his pulpit and he from theirs.

On one occasion, C. P. Steiner counselled a small group of Mennonites in Allen county, Indiana, to unite their efforts with a nearby Amish group fourteen miles northeast of Ft. Wayne whose pastors were Eli Yoder and John Lugibiehl. He also lived on friendly terms with his Swiss Mennonite friends in Allen county. The able and progressive Bishop John Moser on more than one occasion attended services in the Riley Creek church and C. P. Steiner in the Swiss Mennonite (Ebenezer) church. Just why this outstanding minister was never ordained bishop presents a problem to the historian; but it was probably due to his inability to use the English language fluently. The history of Riley Creek church might have had a different ending if the congregation had not been under the direction of non-resident bishops for the last half century of its existence. This arrangement was never wholly satisfactory. On one occasion some members of the congregation circulated a petition asking conference to relieve them from the bishop oversight of George Brenneman of Putnam county.

But to return to the history of the Riley Creek congregation and the difficulty between Abraham and Christian Steiner. C. P. Steiner and his few adherents accepted the decision of the committee as final and attempted to hold together a small fraction of the original group. After Henry Egly's assistance to Abraham Steiner and the organization of the latter's adherents into a congregation of the Defenseless Mennonites, Steiner's group had only some twenty members, heartbroken and discouraged. Most of these were the sons and daughters of Bishop Thut with their families. Since they had been brought up to believe that no one but a minister or a deacon should teach the Bible in a public service, a view held also by the American Mennonites in Virginia at an earlier period, even the Sunday school was now discontinued. For a time they had no resident minister because Steiner had been silenced. They received the sympathy, encouragement, and pastoral care of the Salem congregation at Elida, however, and, in course of time Steiner was reinstated. The Sunday school was reorganized also, but even then progress was slow. Many times the church services resembled a funeral. Some of the sisters wept throughout the entire service. C. B. Brenneman of Elida more than once shed tears of sympathy for them and with them. But eventually the strong faith and simple testimony of C. P. Steiner bore fruit. The

Sunday school did good work, and by 1885 groups of young people began to unite with the congregation. Even older people of non-Mennonite parentage were attracted to the teachings of the Mennonite faith through the preaching of C. B. Brenneman and J. S. Coffman and through the consistent life and testimony of C. P. Steiner, and ultimately united with the Zion congregation.

Through the last decade of the nineteenth century, the "Bluffton young people," as the young Mennonites of the Zion (Riley Creek) congregation were known among the Amish and Mennonites in Ohio, were unsurpassed for their ability as singers, for their activity in religious work, for their cultivation of the social graces and virtues, or for their wholehearted participation in the cause and work of the church. Many of them were the grandchildren of Bishop John Thut, the founder of the congregation. The Steiners, Thuts, Geigers, and Hiltys of Bluffton were among the most active, most useful, most widely known, and generally well-liked young folks in the Mennonite church of this period.

In the early eighties, however, these happy conditions did not prevail. Christian P. Steiner with his few faithful friends and fellow members carried on Sunday school and preaching services, taught their children the Bible, and endeavored to bring them up in the church. But the Swiss congregation with its much larger membership naturally made a strong bid for the interest of the young people. Then in 1883 a new phase of church activity began. In many communities it was not considered right to use a complicated form of singing to worship God. They held fast to the old time simplicity. Many used only one part in singing in their public services. For some reason the Virginia Mennonites were among the first to learn the value of four-part harmony in religious worship and in 1883 western congregations began to ask instruction in this form of hymn-singing. In May of that year the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, Indiana, printed a new edition of C. H. Brunk's *Bible School Hymns and Sacred Songs*. In that same month C. H. Brunk, whose home was at Dale Enterprise, Virginia, taught singing classes or singing school in the progressive Southwestern Pennsylvania congregation at Masontown. He met his classes every day for a number of days in succession, the smaller pupils at five o'clock and the older ones at seven. A month later he was in Mahoning county, Ohio, where he taught two classes, one at Midway and one at North Lima. The classes met every other evening at six-thirty. In these singing schools he used his new *Bible Hymns* in connection with the *Har-*

monia Sacra and the *Philharmonia* that were already in use there. In October of this same year he was invited to Allen county where he conducted three classes in different school houses where he gave twelve lessons at each place. He also taught two classes of children about twelve years old. The classes sang from Brunk's *Bible Hymns* and a hymn book called *Golden Light*. The Zion young people took part in these singing classes, and C. P. Steiner spoke very highly of their progress. On October 7 an appointment was made for Brunk at Ebenezer church where large numbers of the older people gathered to hear the children and the young people sing.

Although Abraham Thut had held singing school here years before and Zion had been using, first three part harmony and, later four part harmony for a number of years, the reader can imagine the new life and impetus that such a series of music lessons conducted in the right spirit would give to Sunday school and church services at the Riley Creek meetinghouse. The number of members was still small, but children and young people were being interested in the work and program of the church. C. P. Steiner was preparing the soil well and was sowing good seed. And then in 1885 came J. S. Coffman! Beginning in Allen county on February 7 and continuing until March 12, 1885 he held forty-eight meetings in Allen, Hancock, Wayne, Medina, Holmes, Fairfield, Perry, and Hocking counties. Zion in Allen, and New Stark in Hancock, manifested more than the usual interest. When he left these two places there were fourteen applicants for baptism. After he left Riley Creek, numbers of these people drove in large two-horse sleds twelve miles to New Stark to attend the meetings. When the class at Riley Creek was baptized on Saturday, April 25, several others had joined Coffman's converts and twelve applicants presented themselves for baptism. At this time Bishop George Brenneman was no longer able to perform the duties of his office. C. B. Brenneman and C. P. Steiner called Bishop Joseph Bixler of Mahoning county to Riley Creek to perform the rite of baptism and to hold communion services on the following day, Sunday, April 26. For many years baptismal services were conducted only in a running stream. Riley Creek baptized its candidates for church membership in Riley Creek about one mile north of Ebenezer church. It was a time of great rejoicing in Riley Creek meetinghouse. C. B. Brenneman's heart overflowed with joy and thanksgiving. Tears were shed that day as in former days, but they were tears of joy and gratitude. The class that was bap-

tized that day in April, 1885, was a remarkable group: three of C. P. Steiner's oldest children, Paulina, Jennie, and Menno Simon; Isaac Burkhart, forty-five years old, and two of his children, Andrew and Anna; Amos Geiger, son of Frederick Geiger, last deacon of the congregation; and probably also Noah and Reuben Thut, Lawrence Waltz and others. Menno Steiner had not joined the class of converts while meetings were in progress at Zion, but was converted at New Stark when Coffman continued the meetings there. Mrs. Isaac Burkhart had united with the Zion congregation eight or ten years earlier.

The church continued to grow. Probably during the next year Frederick Geiger, also called Fritz by his Swiss neighbors, was ordained deacon. He was born, October 17, 1838, in Riley township, Putnam county, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Geiger, two of the original Swiss Mennonite settlers of this community. As noted above, Deacon Geiger had formerly lived in Paulding county where he owned and operated a sawmill. He bought the old Thut homestead near Bluffton in 1872, but he did not spend much time on the farm. Most of his life he was a carpenter and contractor. He served in his office as deacon faithfully until his death on January 17, 1916.

In 1888 it was considered wise to ordain a helper for Christian Steiner. Four brethren were nominated: Abraham Thut, a son; David Hilty, a son-in-law; and Menno Steiner, a grandson, of Bishop Thut; and Isaac Burkhart. The lot falling on Isaac Burkhart, he was ordained on Sunday, July 22, 1888. He was born in Berks county, Pennsylvania, of Lutheran parents, March 9, 1840, and was baptized into the Lutheran church in infancy. In 1868, he married Mary A. Kurtz. They moved to Putnam county, Ohio, in the vicinity of Pendelton, now Pandora, in 1873. In 1885, greatly impressed by the preaching of John S. Coffman, he made application to be baptized on confession of faith and was received into the church, as noted above. Like all of his predecessors at Zion he preached German only. A contemporary says of him that his daily walk was lowly and meek and that his sermons gave evidence of the Spirit and of power. He served the congregation faithfully until his death at his home near Pandora, April 9, 1906. His widow and two daughters live in Pandora. One of Isaac Burkhart's daughters, Ella, is married to Harry S. Roth, superintendent of buildings and grounds at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. Another daughter, Lena, is married to Preacher J. B. Smith of Elida, Ohio. Preacher Burkhart's only son, Andrew, a young man of

great promise, was superintendent of Zion Sunday school for some years. He died at an early age leaving his widow, Christina, daughter of Preacher, later Bishop, David Hilty.

After 1888 the history of the Riley Creek (Zion) congregation merges with the Sunday school history in such a way that, at this point, it would be better to return to the beginning of the Sunday school movement in Allen county and then continue the history of the congregation and the story of the Sunday school and Young People's Meeting together.

In September, 1868, John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, at the invitation of Bishop John M. Brenneman of Elida, Ohio, went to the Salem Church in Allen county to organize a Sunday school. On September 16, he visited Deacon David Boesiger at the Riley Creek settlement. As already noted, Bishop John Thut had died the year before and since that time David Geiger had withdrawn, leaving the congregation without a pastor. No Sunday school was organized that year, but the next spring the deacon, David Boesiger, conducted a kind of Sunday school. They had their Sunday school (they called it Sabbath school) every two weeks before church services. They divided the school into classes with a teacher for each class. These teachers taught reading and spelling chiefly, leaving to Deacon Boesiger the instruction in the Bible. The school opened with singing and prayer by the deacon, because none but an ordained person was considered worthy to handle the Word of God in a public meeting. Following these opening exercises, the children read and spelled from the German A B C book until it was nearly time to begin church services. Then the deacon or visiting minister asked some questions from the Bible. It should be noted particularly that in the beginning the lay-teachers gave instruction only in language, that is, in reading and spelling. Religious instruction was imparted by an ordained official only.

After their ordination to the ministry in 1869, Abraham and Christian P. Steiner naturally assumed charge of Sunday school, and, formal though it no doubt was, they, after all, performed a distinctive service for the children and young people of the congregation. Like most rural Sunday schools of that period the Riley Creek Sunday school was opened every spring about Easter and closed about Thanksgiving with some kind of review of the summer's work and the distribution of prizes for faithful attendance and for memorizing certain assigned portions of Scripture or catechism. A conscientious effort seems to have been made to learn new methods and to give real instruction. In 1875 Christian

P. Steiner and David Boesiger made a visit to David Plank's Sunday school in Logan county.

When the ministers of the Riley Creek congregation were silenced, however, and the deacon left the congregation in order to follow Abraham Steiner into the Egly church, Sunday school closed because there was no one to conduct it. Riley Creek seems to have had no Sunday school for the summers 1878 and 1879. It may be too that Christian P. Steiner did not immediately reopen the Sunday school after he was reinstated into the ministry. But during the time that Riley Creek Sunday school was closed, so many of the children of Steiner's congregation attended the Swiss Mennonite Sunday school at the Ebenezer church that it was deemed advisable to reopen Riley Creek Sunday school to avoid losing the children and young people. Reuben Thut of Beaverdam, Ohio, remembers attending this Sunday school about 1879. In that year he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Christlicher Jugendfreund* stating that he had committed certain assigned tasks for which he was to receive a prize. He was the first boy to so report. After Christian P. Steiner reopened the Sunday school the A B C German books continued in use. Instruction in the German language was one of the primary aims of Sunday school instruction. Naturally the singing classes of 1883 and the revival meetings of John S. Coffman in February, 1885, with the resulting class of twelve applicants for baptism in April, exercised a stimulating effect on the Sunday school. By 1886 sufficient interest was awakened in the closing day exercises so that they were held on Sunday afternoon in order to give more time for the program.

During the next few years the grandchildren of Bishop John Thut, and the other young people of the growing congregation, were being gathered into the church. Menno Steiner, as agent for the publications of the Mennonite Publishing House, travelled extensively among the churches of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the West, selling books, encouraging Sunday schools, pointing out weaknesses in church and Sunday school work, calling attention to advanced methods and materials, and studying church history. This study led to the conviction that most Mennonites were brethren by tradition and that differences were accidental and not fundamental. These ideas had their effect on his home congregation. Everywhere he went he advocated Sunday schools, church literature, church unity, and world-wide mission activity. Some of his first efforts were more energetic than tactful, but he did a great deal to bring to public notice, and make subject for general discussion, ideas that men like

C. P. Steiner, his father, John F. Funk, John S. Coffman, John K. Yoder, David Plank, Isaac Schmucker, and many others had been expressing more or less fearfully and secretly for a number of years.

In 1889 a class of ten local young people and two aged people from Medina county swelled the growing, thriving congregation at Riley Creek. It was the custom at that time to baptize applicants for baptism in a running stream, but out of deference to their age, the two old people (the parents of Dr. H. W. Eby of Goshen, Indiana, and of the late Clara Eby Steiner) were baptized on the bank of Riley Creek without being asked to kneel in the stream. Nearly all of the members of the Riley Creek church took an active interest in the Sunday school at this time and when the school closed its session for the summer on November 17, a large crowd filled the church building. A visitor describes the exercises as "interesting, instructive, and edifying."

As stated above, the school always closed in the fall to reopen in early spring, but in 1890 Riley Creek Sunday school became "evergreen." The summer session closed on November 2, but plans were made immediately to continue throughout the winter months. This seems to have been the first Mennonite Sunday school in Ohio to reorganize for the winter and keep open for an entire year.

Although a correspondent to the *Herald of Truth* had stated in 1890 that nearly all of the young people of the congregation had united with the church, another series of meetings by J. S. Coffman and D. H. Bender in the early spring of 1891 brought out a new class of fifteen converts and two members reclaimed. These united with the church on May 23, 1891.

Many of the Bluffton young people came to the first General Mennonite Sunday school conference at Clinton Frame Church in Elkhart county, Indiana, in 1892 and some took a very active part. The second General Sunday school conference was held at Bluffton in 1893, in the new Zion meetinghouse. It was a notable conference. Here were made some of the most important decisions that the Church as a whole had made in a century. The mission movement and the publishing and evangelizing interests were greatly advanced. M. S. Steiner, who had been ordained to the ministry at Elkhart, March 9, 1893, by Bishop John F. Funk, and had taken charge of the Chicago Mission at once, was an outstanding figure at this conference. He began to assume a role that was natural and inevitable for him, and from this time on he directed an expansion of church activities and unifying of forces such

as the old Mennonite church had never seen before. In April of this year Zion church had organized a Young People's Meeting, and thus became one of the pioneers in this work. Reuben Thut was elected leader and Josiah (Joe) S. Steiner, chorister. To encourage the new organization, A. B. and A. C. Kolb of Elkhart, Indiana, visited the meeting on Sunday evening, May 21. Their words of encouragement and their instructions for carrying on a profitable, successful young people's meeting were long remembered by the Bluffton young people.

With the organization of the young people's meeting the early period of the history of many of the older congregations may be said to close. It is true that Mennonite Sunday Schools have undergone great changes during the past few years. In many cases even radical changes in the architectural design of the church buildings were brought about, but these developments remain to be chronicled by the student of religious education. The early period of Sunday school work proceeded through the paternalized, parochial type of semi-secular teaching of language combined with Bible catechism conducted by the pastor, into the period of autonomous organization in charge of laymen elected by a self-determining organization separate from the church authority. And this organization finally created another autonomous organization for the sole purpose of training young people in religious leadership and expression in the form of the Young People's Bible Meeting. With the introduction of the last named organization, the early period of Sunday school work may be said to end.

Until 1862, as stated above, the Thut congregation did not have a house of worship, but met for church services in the homes or barns of members. On July 27 of that year, however, articles of agreement were drawn up between Samuel Hochstetler, grandfather of Susannah Hochstetler, and Abraham Steiner, husband of Mary Ann (Hochstetler) (Kohli) Steiner, who was the mother of Susannah Hochstetler, on the one hand and Peter Hartman and Christian Blosser (a school teacher and the father of Bishop John Blosser and Noah Blosser), trustees of the "old American Mennonites society church," on the other. The agreement called for the immediate erection of a church building on thirty-six square rods of land and promised a deed for the land so soon as Susannah Hochstetler should be eighteen years old. On Nov. 10, 1873, Abraham and Mary Ann Steiner deeded this property to Josiah Snavely, David Boesinger, and Abraham Thut, "trustees of the old American Mennonite Mano (sic) Simon Society." Here the

"Riley Creek meetinghouse" was built in 1862. This small building with very low ceiling became the property of C. P. Steiner's group when the Abe Steiner-Dave Boesiger faction seceded, because the deed specifically stated that the land should belong to the society so long as there were any members who complied "with the conference rules and regulations of said society." This building stood at the east end of the present Zion cemetery. Not having been erected until sawmills were introduced, it was a frame building, instead of the usual log structure that formed the first Mennonite meetinghouse in most of the early settlements.

When the Riley Creek meetinghouse would no longer accommodate the growing membership, the congregation decided to erect a new building. On June 24, 1892, Abraham and Elizabeth (Steiner) Thut deeded to Frederick Geiger and Tobias S. Eby, "trustees of the Zion Mennonite Church," eighty-five hundredths of an acre for the erection of a church building "as long as they are in union with the Mennonite Annual Conference of Ohio." This plot of ground was south, a little east, and across the road from the first church. Here Zion Mennonite Church* was built in the summer of 1892 and dedicated December 4, when it was opened for worship. Bishop John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, preached the dedicatory sermon. After the new church was completed, Abram Thut purchased the old Riley Creek meetinghouse and moved it near his farm buildings. Squat, unpainted, and gray with age, it is still in use and is in an excellent state of preservation.

For a quarter of a century after its organization the Riley Creek congregation had no burial ground. As the older members of the congregation died, they were buried in the old Swiss Mennonite cemetery a mile north of Ebenezer church, in a plot of ground that had been given for this purpose by a certain Neuenschwander. There are three adjoining cemeteries at this point. Directly east from the Defenseless Mennonite church lies the old Swiss Mennonite cemetery. Here John Thut and his fourteen year old daughter lie buried. This cemetery is no longer in use. When Neuenschwander joined the "Herreleute" or "Neu Meniste" (Herrites or New Mennonites), now the Reformed Mennonites, he donated a second plot north of the first to the members of his new congregation. And when David Boesiger left the Riley Creek congregation to help found the new Defenseless Mennonite con-

* During its early history the name of this congregation was Riley Creek. When the new meetinghouse was erected in 1892, the name became Zion.

gregation he also donated a plot for a cemetery. This lies at the northwest corner of his farm, south of the old Swiss Mennonite cemetery. After the Swiss Mennonites no longer buried their dead in the old cemetery and began a new cemetery at Ebenezer about 1870-71, the Riley Creek congregation buried a few members in the tiny plot behind the Riley Creek church. When this grew too small, Preacher Abraham Steiner sold (Nov. 10, 1873) eighty-one square rods adjoining the church lot on the west to the "trustees of the old American Mennonite Mano (sic) Simon society" to be "used and held for church purposes and cemetery so long as they remain a church." The trustees were: Josiah Snavely, David Boesiger, and Abraham Thut. A few years ago, when it became evident that the Zion Mennonite congregation was on the verge of disintegration, the trustees took steps to clear the title to the church property and transfer it to a cemetery association. The Abraham Thut heirs signed a quit claim deed to the church property south of the road on July 6, 1925 in favor of Zion Mennonite church, and on July 3, 1926 the last trustees of Zion Mennonite church, Menno N. Geiger, Harvey E. Beidler, Moses S. Messinger, Chris Bixel, and C. C. Geiger transferred all of the property of the "Zion Mennonite Church" to "The Zion Cemetery Association."

On account of the peculiar circumstances connected with the passing of Zion Church, a few closing words may be in order. A few years ago the congregation voted to disband and to wreck the church building. This was done forthwith. Nothing but the foundation remains. For some of the recent members this was a simple matter for it did not mean the breaking of traditional ties; for others it merely meant going back to the Swiss Mennonite church which their grandfathers had left eighty years before. For a few it meant a transfer of membership to the (old) Mennonite church at Salem near Elida, or to Chapel, the General Conference Mennonite congregation near New Stark. The mere outsider should be glad, no doubt, to see one church flourish where two grew before. But to one who has worshipped with the Zion congregation in the days of Christian P. Steiner, who has heard that consecrated band of young people sing, who has joined with them in prayer and praise, and who, in looking down the future, has visualized the children and the children's children of those young people carrying on the ideals and traditions of the fathers, to him a visit to the present site of Zion meeting house and its lonely well-kept cemetery is not a happy experience.

THE DIARY OF PAUL TSCHETTER, 1873

Translated and Edited by J. M. Hofer

II

(Concluded)

Tuesday, May 22. As we did not know the brethren, who had shortly arrived from Russia, we proceeded on our journey alone with John Funk. We boarded the train at Elkhart at four-thirty in the morning and at eight we arrived in Chicago which is one hundred two miles from Elkhart. The city is located on Lake Michigan, and has a large navigable canal. This city was nearly all burned to the ground one and one-half years ago. The people say that since the creation of the world there never has been a fire like that. The loss of the fire was estimated at $200,000,000. Many people lost their lives. By this time large portions of the city have already been rebuilt. There are buildings from seven to eight stories in height. We went through many long and crowded streets and came into Chicago by a subway such as they have in Berlin. This passes under the Chicago River. It was a fathom high and one and one-half fathoms wide with an arched ceiling laid out with brick, like a cellar. The inside was cool. The street cars passed through the tunnel while over it passed boats and steamships. It took us fifteen minutes to walk through it. One's mind can hardly comprehend what man is able to construct. According to all these things the end of the world must be nigh. Since I was very tired and did not feel well we went to a hotel to rest. Later in the day we went to the city to look for the brethren but could not find them. We then looked up the railroad station agent and inquired about the land and then returned to our room. On our return from the station we saw in a tent on the street two wild and uncivilized men from a distant island, caged up. They were over 50 years old, very small, with long hair and short beards. The structure of their frames was as slight as that of a child of five years. I was much astonished when I saw one of these men raise up another man of at least thirty-six "pud" weight.[35] The thought came to me, as I looked upon these poor creatures, whether God would also demand an account of them on the Judgment day. We remained that day and the following one in our rooms surrounded by so much noise and tumult that my head ached. How much relieved I would be if I were once again in my home, where everything is quiet and peaceful.

Wednesday, May 23. Since there was no hope of meeting the brethren in the city, we boarded the train at ten in the morning for St. Paul. This city lies in the state of Minnesota, four hundred eight miles from Chicago. We traveled through all kinds of territory. At first the land was beautiful and level with plenty of water and good thick woods.

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[35] A pud is 8 pounds.

Then we came to a hilly region with many bridges over streams and then more level country. After twenty-one hours we arrived at St. Paul.

Thursday, May 24. At seven o'clock this morning we arrived at St. Paul and went to the business section of the city. We made our headquarters at a hotel. The hotelkeeper's name was Wildenjäger. In the forenoon we went to the courthouse to inquire for information. They treated us courteously, asked for our names and said that in the afternoon we could meet a man who had also lived in Russia. He would explain to us in regard to the different lands, here in America, for there are railroad lands, government lands, and school lands. He said that he would see us in our rooms at two o'clock in the afternoon. At that time the man came to our room and gave us much information in regard to the land. He took us to the railroad agent who also has millions of acres to sell at reasonable prices. We received telegraphic information that Suderman and Buller were also on their way to St. Paul. This city was founded sixteen years ago. It is not a very large city, but has fine buildings and quite an important trade and commerce. One can buy everything that is needed. In the evening the Bergthaler deputies, Jacob Peters, the village mayor (Oberschulz), Henry Wiebe, a minister, and Cornelius Boer came to our room.[36] Oh how glad we were to see them. It seemed to me that they were of my own. They had already visited many parts of the country, but as yet had not found homes. They had been in the South in the state of Texas and informed us that people in that state were already harvesting wheat, but they did not like that country. After talking over many matters, we retired to our rooms for the night.

Friday, May 25. Arose well, thanks only to God, the Almighty for His Fatherly protection and guidance. The Bergthaler brethren came to our room. We asked them to travel with us, but they said that they had already promised to join the Molotschna brethren who were to meet them in the city.[37] In the morning we proceeded to the station, Wiebe helping me to carry my baggage. On the way we talked about non-resistance and how he liked the country here. He said the country did not appeal much to him and that after all the question of military service is the most important. He thought that it would not be possible to secure total exemption from military service in the United States, but that the English government would be more liberal and grant a Charter guaranteeing exemption from military service which was better than what this country could offer. He spoke very sensibly, so that I immediately learned to love him. He said that one should not only consider the land question but also not forget the matter of freedom, for that is the reason why we came to this country and are making this long journey. Then we took leave, boarded the

36 They were deputies from Bergthal in South Russia also seeking land in America with the intention of immigrating to this country on account of the new military regulations coming into force in Russia at that time.

37 The Molotschna brethren lived in the valley of the Molotschna River in South Russia, not far from the Hutterian settlement.

train and left St. Paul. The city lies on the Mississippi River and a long bridge several fathoms high spans the river at this point. Our destination was Duluth. At first the country was quite level but somewhat woody and then came many rocky cliffs. We crossed five different bridges, so high that one became dizzy when looking into the deep below. I estimated the height over one hundred feet and the stream was so swift that it had the force of fifteen thousand horsepower. The name of the river was St. Louis. At four-thirty we arrived at Duluth. The city is located on a lake, which was full of floating ice. The city is only small, having been founded only four years ago. On one side the city lies on a high hill with many trees. The city is one hundred fifty-six miles north of St. Paul. Due to the ice, it was quite cold. We remained in the city for the night. There is also a large immigration house here, built by the railroad company for the welfare and comfort of the immigrants as well as for their own interest and profit.

Saturday, May 26. At seven in the morning we again took the train, traveling toward the southwest, because the country here seemed too cold to us and grain was planted too late in the season. We journeyed through level plains of woodland with many lakes. Here and there one could see a miserable hut inhabited by Indians. These Indians are quite civilized and would not hurt anyone. At two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the city of Bremont which was founded only two years ago. The town is only small and we had dinner. The woodland became thinner here and finally the land seemed clear altogether. The land at times was level and then again slightly hilly. The hilly land seemed to me the more fertile of the two. Here and there one could see a settlement of white people and small fields of grain. The wheat was yet very small. At eight o'clock in the evening we arrived at Glyndon, where a large immigration hall is located, built by the railroad company. We decided to remain here over Sunday because lodging is free and meals could be secured at very reasonable rates. The land around Glyndon is very level. It is probably too wet most of the year and that is a great drawback in spring plowing. Several people have already settled here. The distance from Duluth to Glyndon is two hundred fifty-eight miles and it took us thirteen hours to travel the distance by train. In the evening there was a great thunderstorm accompanied by rain and wind.

Sunday, May 27. In the morning when I awoke all well, thanks to God, the spirit told me that this was Pentecost.[38] A longing immediately overtook me to be with my wife and children and celebrate Pentecost with them. I became very sad and began to think how I could pos-

[38] The Roman calendar was reformed by Julius Caesar in 46 B. C. A small error of 11 minutes and 14 seconds yearly, however, still put the Julian calendar one year behind every 128 years. To remedy this, Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 introduced a slight change by omitting ten days from that year. The Gregorian calendar is now in use by all civilized countries except Russia and Greece. These two still follow the Julian calendar and are therefore 13 days behind the Gregorian. It is for this reason that Pentecost in Russia and Greece comes one week later, than in other countries.

sibly comfort myself in this wilderness. I took out my Martyr's Song Book and read a few songs. I then saw what people had been willing to suffer for the name of Christ. I took new courage and felt better. I reconsecrated myself wholly to God and to His Fatherly care. In the evening we attended a Lutheran church which was located in the neighborhood. Brother Funk preached a sermon in the English language of which we understood nothing. It was only a small congregation.

Monday, May 28. Awoke rested and much refreshed, praise to God. After breakfast we rode out for a distance of a few miles into the country on a wagon to see how the farmers were getting along in their work. There were as yet only a few pioneers settled in this region. Much of the land that had been plowed was yet under water. The wheat had only a poor stand and was very weedy due to late seeding. The grass was only thin and small. The land was very level and the soil was black, but somewhat sandy. It seemed to me that were we to settle here, we should never be threatened with famine, and, provided we were industrious and God-fearing, the Lord would not withhold His rich blessings. Since the region seemed somewhat cold and spring came rather late, we decided to go further south to investigate conditions there. All Monday we had our lodging place at the immigration house. In the afternoon we again journeyed out into the country in another direction. The land here seemed better than that which we had seen in the morning because it was richer in grass. We drove around the fields the entire afternoon and in the evening we met our brethren Jacob Buller, Bernhardt Suderman, Wilhelm Ewert of Prussia, Tobias Unruh of Poland, Andreas Schrag of Poland, Bernhardt Boer, Heinrich Wiebe and Jacob Peters of Bergthal. We drove on for another short distance and came to the little town of Fargo, where we remained for the night.

Tuesday, May 29. In the morning after we (sixteen of us) had rested, praise to God the Highest, we prepared at five in the morning to leave Fargo. The Red River is the boundary line between the state of Minnesota and the territory of Dakota. The land around Fargo, for a distance of 60 miles in length and 35 miles in width is extremely level and has few trees. Then it becomes more hilly and somewhat stony with numerous salt lakes, one of them being one-half mile across. This lake is spanned by a bridge. There are also streams here and there with trees along the banks. The lumber can be used only for fuel. The soil is black with a mixture of sand farther into the subsoil. At two o'clock we arrived at the James River. We were now one hundred miles from Fargo and we decided to go no farther. Funk said that he knew the land well in this region and there was no use in going any farther, since the land gets no better than that which we have already seen. The farther we go, the farther we get from Fargo and from the lumber regions, so that it would be quite difficult to settle for those reasons. The railroad continues for just another hundred miles and then ends. We took the same train back to Fargo at four o'clock in the afternoon because the land around that town looked better to us. At one o'clock, the same night we arrived at Fargo.

Wednesday, May 30. After breakfast six of us, in two wagons belonging to the railroad company, together with Funk and two agents drove out into the country to thoroughly investigate the land. We drove through many fields. The land is so extremely level, that it would be impossible for water to be drained in a rainy season. There is much tall grass around the wet spots but the ground is not marshy. The grass is only thin, the soil is black with a sandy subsoil and further down we find a gray loam, but less sandy. One man was seeding oats. We spent the entire day roaming through the fields. We had a lunch under the open sky which the agents provided for us and late in the afternoon we again returned to our quarters.

Thursday, May 31. I remained in my room the entire day and wrote letters home as well as some songs.[39] Late in the afternoon I walked down to the Red River to see the ship which was to take us to Manitoba, for we had decided to go there.

Friday, June 1. At eight o'clock in the morning we began our journey on the ship and at two o'clock in the afternoon we departed from Moorhead, down the Red River to Manitoba, twelve of us brethren from Russia. The steamship was five fathoms wide and twenty fathoms long. The Red River has a width of twenty fathoms. In the evening the ship stopped and soon the godless life of the people on deck began with music, card-playing and dancing.

Saturday, June 2. Awoke well and refreshed, praise the Lord. I composed a song of thanksgiving to-day.

Sunday, June 3. We traveled by ship all day to-day. At one time the ship was unable to move, but after four hours of repair work, we again proceeded on our way.

Monday, June 4. At eight o'clock in the morning we arrived at Fort Pembina in North Dakota. Here I saw soldiers in uniform, also many cannons. They were the first soldiers that I had seen in America and I had traveled in this country for more than a month, in different cities, etc. We proceeded a little farther to the Canadian boundary line where we all marched out of the ship and then again back into the ship in single file. We were all inspected by the English Government officials. Everyone was asked where he was from, his age, name and occupation. All was put on record. This was at ten in the morning.

Tuesday, June 5. At five in the morning we stepped from the ship and walked to the city which was one-half mile from the river. The name of the city was Winnipeg. It is only a small town. Along the river there are numerous fortresses guarded by soldiers, belonging to the English Government. The soldiers wore red uniforms. From Fargo to Winnipeg is two hundred twenty-four miles by land and somewhat farther by water, but I am not certain how much. In the afternoon we were called before the governor. He was very kind and

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[39] During his travels in America, Rev. Tschetter composed words for several songs.

friendly and spoke much but all in the English language. Hespeler was our interpreter. The governor spoke of all the advantages that they could give us, but of course, one can not depend on that. In the afternoon twenty of us in three wagons drove out into the country to look at land and talk to the farmers. The people are lazy farmers of mixed Indian blood and are more cattlemen than agriculturalists. The land does not seem bad. The soil is a black loam with not much sand. The wheat stand was small but looked fresh and healthy. One could also see considerable unthreshed wheat left from the previous year.

Wednesday, June 6. At nine o'clock in the morning twenty-five of us again drove out into the country in five wagons with two extra wagons for tents and provisions going in advance. As we were about to leave with our wagons, we were all lined up and a man came carrying a tripod with a box and glass on top. I was wondering what he wanted and was informed that he would take a photograph of us, which was not to my taste, because I do not like to have my picture lying around in all parts of the world.[40] But what will you do with the world? World is world and will remain world until the Lord will come and end it all. We then took the ferry boat and crossed the Red River. After we had journeyed fifteen miles we halted, fed our horses, and had dinner while it rained quite hard. In the afternoon we continued our journey through many muddy and marshy places. At one place the horses slipped and fell and we had to draw the wagons out by hand. The roads were very bad.

After we had journeyed for sixty versts, the evening drew nigh and we came to a settlement inhabited by a people of mixed Indian blood. Our tent wagons had not arrived because they had taken the wrong route. Since we did not wish to sleep under the open sky, we asked these Indians to give us lodging in their homes but they would not. Finally they consented anyway and we remained there for the night.

Thursday, June 7. After breakfast we sang a song of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord, and Brother Suderman read the nineteenth Psalm, and led in prayer. At eleven o'clock the two tent wagons arrived and we had dinner and at three we continued our journey, one man on horseback accompanying us as guide to show us the land. He was a half-Indian. At five o'clock we arrived at the place where we were supposed to settle. We pitched our tents, ate supper, sang a few songs of thanksgiving and retired for the night.

Friday, June 8. At ten in the morning we continued our journey and soon we came to a house where only the wife was at home and she spoke a beautiful German. They had been living in Canada for two years and we talked many things to her and asked her many questions. She praised the country, very likely because she wanted neighbors. In America the people are all alike in that respect, i. e. everyone praises his own community because he wants it settled. "Every mer-

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40 The writer and the Hutterians in general had religious scruples against photographs at that time.

chant praises his own ware." This region seemed more subject to drought. We crossed several streams and at noon had our dinner, but the mosquitoes were so bad that one could hardly defend himself. In the afternoon we drove on, crossing still other streams. On one occasion we led the horses across the stream. A little farther on we remained for the night, but the mosquitoes were terribly bad.

Saturday, June 9. After breakfast we again traveled on for fifteen versts, then had dinner and from thence proceeded on to the town of Winnipeg. The land through which we traveled that day was marshy and quite woody, but I reckoned that the lumber could be used only for fuel. At some places the land is good, but railroad facilities are poor. The town of Winnipeg is forty-five versts from this land and the roads are very bad. The lumber for building purposes must be shipped by way of the Red River from Minnesota. The half-breed Indians live on this land and it belongs to them. Grasshoppers are very plentiful. The price of stock and agricultural implements is more reasonable in the United States than in Manitoba and if the same is shipped across the boundary, a duty must be paid on it. To most of us, the Manitoba country was not to our liking, but seven of the brethren liked it and wished to journey another one hundred fifty versts to the southwest, where there was some more land for sale. The five of us, Lorenz Tschetter, Ewert, Schrag, Tobias Unruh and myself and Brother Funk decided to return to Dakota and meet the other brethren at Moorhead, within two weeks. We took leave of the brethren and at midnight boarded our ship.

Sunday, June 10. I awoke somewhat sick. An English minister preached on board the ship. I understood nothing of the sermon. We sang German songs. This minister had with him his wife and two children who acted most vain and arrogant. It is really a pity that many of the ministers in this respect are worse than the other people. In the evening brother Funk preached in English and we sang German songs. Brother Funk explained to the audience the purpose of our journey.

Monday, June 11. At eight o'clock in the morning we stepped from the ship at Fort Pembina after journeying on the river for one hundred versts. A large wagon with four mules and one wagon with one horse were given to us to go out and see the land. At noon we started out, going westward into Dakota. On one side of the road were thick woods of oak and lime trees with the Pembina River winding its way through the woods. A short distance (three to five versts) to the north is the Canadian boundary line. We drove on for twenty-seven versts and found very beautiful land with black soil and an excellent growth of grass. Some grasshoppers could be seen, but not so many as in Manitoba. We remained for the night at the home of a half-breed Indian. He himself was not at home. His wife and servants treated us very nicely. He had a beautiful house, the floors covered with rugs. He had about 40 head of horned cattle. The housewife gave us a good supper, for they are wealthy people. After supper we took a walk into the woods, where we found many beautiful trees such as

oaks, poplars and limes, often so thick that two men could hardly reach around them. We came to a stream that flowed swiftly enough to drive a fair-sized mill. Then we again returned to our lodging place, where we sang a few songs, held a short prayer service and retired for the night.

Tuesday, June 12. We slept very well and had a good night's rest, praise to God. The lady gave us breakfast, for which we had to pay a little, but it was not much. We drove eight versts farther in the country. Here the land was quite sandy and the grass was thin. After going another twenty versts, we came to a German farmer who was very friendly to us. Here we fed our mules. The man seemed to be wealthy for he had several houses which he had purchased from the half-breed Indians. His name was Emerling. He lived near the Joseph mountains and advised us to go to the tops of these mountains for a good view of all the surrounding country. We went and found the mountains covered with a thick growth of trees. From here we got a most excellent view of all the surrounding country for miles around. We returned after a while and had dinner at his home. He told us many interesting things about the land. Barley is seeded about April 24 and cut about June 28. Wheat is seeded about April 20 and cut July 20. In the afternoon we again climbed two steep mountains. Here was a level plain forty-five versts long and five versts wide. After driving about nine versts around this plain we again returned and had supper at Emerling's place. We sang a few songs and Brother Schrag led in prayer. After that we retired for the night.

Wednesday, June 13. In the morning Brother Ewert led us in prayer and then we had breakfast. After breakfast, we decided to look at the land on the other side of the river, but since it had rained considerably during the night, Emerling said that it would be impossible to cross with our large wagon and four mules, but he thought it might be possible to cross with one horse and small wagon. Only one of us could go along with the guide, since the wagon was so small. I was selected to go along and see the land and report in the evening. We crossed the Pembina and two other small streams. After driving for nine versts, we came upon a level plain between the Pembina and Tongue Rivers, a stretch of land eighteen versts wide. The land is at first level and the soil black, but there is a great difference in soil at different places, here sandy and again heavier. The land seems a most excellent country for cattle raising with plenty of water and grass. The man with whom I drove could not speak German and I could not speak English but we managed to understand each other by means of signs. I spoke to him in the Low German (Platt Deutsch) and he could understand quite well for there is a great similarity between the "Platt Deutsch" and English. We then returned home crossing the Tongue River which flows into the Pembina three versts away from the Red River. At six in the evening we came to the town of Pembina. I was very hungry and went to a German man named Abels, who was a butcher in the town, and he gave me something to eat. A little later the other brethren also came and Abels also gave them something to eat. We remained in Pembina for the night.

Thursday, June 14. At four o'clock in the morning we boarded the ship for Fargo to look at some land in that neighborhood. The land from Pembina to Fargo is woody on the eastern or Minnesota side of the river, but the western or the Dakota side has no trees and the land would make an excellent cattle raising country. I composed a song today while sailing on the river, to the melody, "Barmherziger getreuer Gott."

Friday, June 15. At three o'clock this afternoon Brother Funk and I left the ship at a town called Grand Forks and traveled with the mail-coach instead, because we could get a better view of the land. At this point the great Red River branches off to the Minnesota side. Many logs are seen floating to Manitoba. From Pembina to Grand Forks is a distance of one hundred twenty versts and from Grand Forks to Moorhead is one hundred fifteen versts. At Grand Forks there is a saw mill and a large store where almost everything can be purchased. Since we could get no horses here, we remained in Grand Forks for the night. We were invited to supper by a man named Andreas. After supper I walked out into the country and found very fine level land, black soil, and a good growth of grass. Since it got to be quite late, I again returned to the town and remained at the post office for the night. I composed a song today, "The New Jerusalem."

Saturday, June 16. We continued our journey with a two-horse mail-coach, crossing a good farming country along the Red River. The soil is black and grass is plentiful. The land along the Minnesota side has many more trees than that on the Dakota side. After going for thirty-three versts we changed coaches, now taking a four-horse coach and a different driver. We drove on for eighteen versts. Here the land was lower and there was excellent hayland. The water in the streams was clear and the land was settled with here and there a home. We then changed to another four-horse coach and went on another twenty-one versts and changed again for the next twenty-one versts. Here we found many roses blooming. For the last twenty-two versts we again changed coaches and at ten in the evening we arrived at the town of Moorhead. I walked across the Red River bridge to Fargo, a distance of one verst to my old lodging place and found a letter waiting for me from my wife, and was very glad to hear from my loved ones at home. The other brethren, who had come by ship had not yet arrived and so I remained here for the night.

Sunday, June 17. I remained in my room all day Sunday, wrote a letter home and composed a song. At noon the other brethren came from the ship. Lorenz and Tobias had remained at Moorhead staying at the home of a German man.

Monday, June 18. At six o'clock in the morning we left Fargo for the west. After we had gone about twenty miles the train stopped.* We stepped off and proceeded by wagon to our tents that had been pitched not far away. The land here is somewhat low. We took two teams and drove to the northwestward where we found numerous streams and fine level land with grass quite plentiful. At noon we

* See map, page 220, for routes followed in this region.

returned and had dinner in our tents. After dinner the other brethren drove out to take a survey of the land. I remained at the tents, since I did not feel very well. After taking a nap I felt better. I walked six versts to the southward from the railroad and crossed numerous streams. The land seemed dry, although grass was quite plentiful. I returned home after dark and met the other brethren, who had just returned from their drive. We had supper in the tent. Tobias led us in a brief prayer service and then we retired for the night in our tents.

Tuesday, June 19. We sang a song of praise and I led the group in a short prayer service after which we had breakfast in our tents. We again drove toward the north and east to look at some lands. Here the land was woody at some places. There were numerous streams and grass was plentiful. The land is more rolling, but the low places are not marshy. Some sections are quite stony. In the evening we returned, had supper, Brother Ewert led in prayer and, after singing a song, we retired for the night in our tents.

Wednesday, June 20. After morning services and breakfast we drove ten versts to the northwest as far as Rush River. We found tall grass. We had dinner on a spot near two trees standing close together with another lone tree standing not far away. Then we crossed the Maple River and the railroad and drove to the southward. For four versts along the Maple River the land had plenty of moisture, but the last one hundred versts the soil was dry. When we arrived at our tents in the evening we found that a heavy rain had fallen. Brother Funk led us in prayer and we remained in our tents for the night.

Thursday, June 21. After breakfast and morning service, we packed our tents and drove seven versts south through a low and grassy valley, then seven versts west and again ten versts south, across the Maple River which here has steep banks. At places one could see trees. Then we drove ten more versts southwest. Here the land was higher and grassy, trees quite plentiful and many flowers especially along the river banks. Upon returning to our tents in the evening, we had supper and Brother Schrag led us in prayer. When we retired, a great rainstorm came with thunder and lightning, but we remained dry for our tents were well-made.

Friday, June 22. After morning services, conducted by Brother Ewert, and breakfast, we drove twelve versts westward. The land was somewhat higher and quite stony. Here we crossed the railroad and we saw a large machine operated by steam, with a long arm and shovel at one end. This arm raised, bringing up the shovel with a half-load of dirt and in this manner loaded a railroad car with dirt in a few minutes. We crossed the railroad track and proceeded northward for about ten versts. The land here was still higher and also stony. Then we again returned to the same spot where we had crossed at noon, drove west two versts, left our teams at that place and boarded a train for Fargo, which was thirty-seven versts east. Upon our arrival there, Lorenz, Tobias Unruh and myself walked across the bridge to Moorhead where our baggage was stored at the home of a German man. We remained there for the night. The man seemed rather frivolous and easygoing.

Saturday, June 23. Arose well and refreshed, thank God. I did not like my new lodging place. There was a saloon in the same building and all sorts of people came in. Furthermore there was no room to write and so I told the brethren that I would take my baggage and go to Fargo to the same place where I had formerly stayed. Here I wrote three songs with pencil upon scrap paper. In the evening brother Lorenz and Tobias also came to my room. We sang a few songs. Brother Unruh led in prayer service and we retired for the night.

Sunday, June 24. Shortly after our usual morning services and breakfast, several of our brethren, Jacob Buller, Bernhardt (Leonhard) Sudermann and Schrag came from Manitoba. The other brethren intended to remain in Manitoba a little longer in order to look at some other lands. I remained in my room all day and wrote some.

Monday, June 25. After prayer service and breakfast, the brethren Buller and Sudermann went out west to see the land along the railroad that we had gone over several days before. Lorenz and Tobias drove out to a farmer near Fargo. They found good land and an excellent stand of grain. The wheat that had been seeded April 19 and the barley that had been seeded May 8 were now heading on June 25. They brought samples of the grain along to town. This grain was the second crop on that land, it having been broken the year before.

Tuesday, June 26. I remained in my room in the forenoon. In the afternoon a man came over to our room with Dakota and Minnesota maps and showed us where we could have access to good pine-lumber. He was an official representing the forest department and advised us to buy woodland at $1.25 per acre eighty to one hundred miles from Fargo. The wood could be floated to Fargo on the Red River. The man was not able to speak German, so he went to get a German interpreter. He gave us Dakota and Minnesota maps. This German man invited us to his home and we accepted the offer. He lived with his father, mother, and two grown sisters. They were very friendly and told us many things. They had already lived at many different places, but liked it best here in Fargo. They gave us some good beer to drink. Their house had only very thin walls, and I asked the man if it was not too cold in winter. He said it was not. We again went to our rooms and in the evening the English man called on us again bringing a letter which I was to carry and deliver to the governor of Minnesota, at St. Paul. He also gave us a jar filled with sod. Later in the evening the other brethren who had gone out west to see the land returned and told us what they had seen. They liked the land very much.

Wednesday, June 27. We left Moorhead at ten in the morning with a four-horse mailcoach, seven of us brethren of the delegation and Funk. Since it was quite crowded, I sat with the driver which suited me very much for I could thereby get a much better view of the land. The land for the first eighteen versts was higher, with black soil and a fine stand of grass. We went another thirty-three versts and reached McCauleyville. Here the horses were again changed and after driving

thirty-three versts farther horses were again changed. We continued fifteen versts more and arrived at Prickeritz at eight in the evening. We drove fifteen versts more and came to Breckenridge, where Seper of St. Paul and the railroad agent waited for us. We remained in Breckenridge for the night.

Thursday, June 28. We left Breckenridge at seven in the morning, by train with Seper and the railroad agent. At ten we arrived at Douglas which is sixty versts from Breckenridge. Here teams were already waiting for us to take us out to the land. For the first fifteen versts from Breckenridge the land was a low plain, then the next thirty versts somewhat higher and the last fifteen versts somewhat more hilly with small lakes on both sides of the railroad line. In the distance, one mile away, one could see some forests. At eleven in the morning, we went out in two wagons to look at the land. We drove for twelve versts and then returned. We found many small lakes, a number of them every mile so that about one-third of the country is under water. Near these lakes the grass is very tall and the land near the lakeshores is quite stony. The soil is black with a mixture of shiny sand slightly beneath the surface. Still further down there is a yellowish loam. The grass is not so thick, although the wheat along the roadside looked good and was just heading. The height of the wheat came up as far as my arms. The corn also looked nice and green. The region as a whole did not appeal to me, especially for village life as we have it in Russia, because there is too much water and bottomland. In the afternoon they took another drive to the other side of the railroad line, but I did not go along because it was too crowded. The brethren came back in the evening and reported that they liked this land much better than that which we had seen in the forenoon, but it was already settled considerably. We remained for the night at the railroad station.

Friday, June 29. At ten in the morning we took the train from Douglas to St. Paul and arrived at Willmar at two in the afternoon, the distance being one hundred eight versts, just half the distance to St. Paul. The land is hilly and has many small lakes. It is quite well settled. I saw many fields of wheat, oats and barley. The stand was good and the grain was just heading. From here we went to Litchfield, a small town forty-eight versts from Willmar. At Darwin, one hundred eight versts from St. Paul, the land becomes wooded. Then we came to a small town called Delano. The land from Willmar to Delano is hilly and stony. From there we came to a large lake called Minnetonka, where two hotels are located, one of them being called the Weigalte. Then we came to Naples, a beautiful little town. We arrived there at eight o'clock in the evening and remained in the town for the night in order to look at different kinds of machinery and inquire as to the prices.

Saturday, June 30. In the morning after our usual services, we crossed the bridge over the Mississippi which is not supported as is usual by piers from beneath but is suspended from four high pillars, two on each side on the shores of the river. We saw the saw-mills of which

there are seventeen in the city, some of them driven by steam and others by waterpower. A large saw-mill cuts about 22,000 feet of lumber per day. There are numerous waterfalls here, one of them having a fall of one hundred feet. We also saw factories making doors, window-sashes, and window-frames. Everything necessary for constructing a house, can be procured ready-made. In another factory we saw them make furniture such as chairs, bedsteads, etc. We also saw a paper-mill, but it was not in running order that day. Then we went to a cloth-factory, where many people were employed. After I had seen all these things, that worldly wisdom had accomplished, I thought of the words in the Scripture, that after all these things shall have reached perfection, God will destroy them, for in the eyes of the Lord it is all folly. When we arrived at our rooms, we found a man waiting for us who wished to show us the sights of the city. We went along with him and he showed us the whole town. After dinner, at two o'clock, we boarded the train for St. Paul, where we were to see the governor and get information from him in regard to the lands and the matter of exemption from military service. But he could speak only English and no German and so Brother Funk acted as our interpreter. He promised us the best of everything in his power, but in regard to the matter of exemption from military service, he did not say much because it was not within his power. Then we returned to our rooms for the night.

Sunday, July 1. After our morning services I wrote a letter and a song of consolation to my wife. I remained the entire day in my little room.

Monday, July 2. I felt somewhat sick this morning because I drank too much ice-water in the great heat yesterday. At eight o'clock in the morning we went to the railway station. A special car had been attached to the rear of the train. The car had sleeping accommodations, a very convenient thing, since I felt sick. The old man Seper was with us as well as a young man by the name of Rosen, who was a Mennonite. His father is a minister in Hamburg. A railroad agent was also with us. At two in the afternoon we arrived at St. James, where we had dinner. Then we came to the little town of Worthington which is two hundred fifty versts southwest of St. Paul. The land covering these two hundred versts is mostly rolling prairie-land with black soil. We arrived at the little town of Worthington shortly before evening. Here we stepped off in order to see the land. Sixteen of us went out in four wagons driving six versts and then returned to our rooms. The land was hilly with quite a good stand of grass. The grain along the roadsides was small.

Tuesday, July 3. In the morning we proceeded by special train thirty versts eastward to Heron Lake and from there we went out in four wagons, fifteen of us, to see the land. We drove until noon and then stopped for dinner at the home of a farmer who lived in a grove of trees. The growth of grass was quite plentiful, but the grain along the roadside was quite small, thin and of a yellowish color. In the afternoon we drove another thirty versts, following a different route.

Then we returned to Heron Lake and took our train back to Worthington, where we remained for the night.

Wednesday, July 4. I did not feel well when I arose this morning. We again took the train to Worthington and went out by wagon twenty versts to see the land. Here the wheat was also small, thin and suffered from drought. The grass was quite plentiful. The soil is sandy and mixed with saltpetre. The water is likewise mixed with saltpetre. Later in the afternoon, a hot wind came up, the same as we sometimes have at home. The land is hilly and has deep valleys here and there. We drove as far as the town of Windom, which is forty-five miles from Worthington. Here we had dinner. Then we went to Sioux City, which is located in the state of Iowa, one hundred fifty versts from Worthington. The Minnesota line is twenty versts from Worthington. We had supper in the town of LeMars. At ten in the evening we arrived at Sioux City and were met by another railroad agent. The old agent who had been with us for the last few days then took leave of us. Rosen also took leave of us and we remained for the night in Sioux City.

Thursday, July 5. The town of Sioux City is located on the Missouri River near the boundary line between Iowa and Nebraska. We left Sioux City at seven in the morning and arrived at Council Bluffs, a small town. Here we changed trains, crossed the Missouri River over a large bridge, one verst in length and came to Omaha, Nebraska. Omaha is one hundred fifty versts from Sioux City. Then we went as far west as Columbus, another small town, one hundred thirty-eight versts from Omaha. Here we stopped and became acquainted with some colonists, who had recently emigrated from Odessa, one of them by the name of Hildebrand. Most of these people had purchased farms, while one of them had entered the mercantile business. We talked many things with them. The women were especially anxious to tell of their trip from Odessa to America. They were all well pleased with their new location. We remained at the home of Hildebrand for the night.

Friday, July 6. After our usual morning services, we drove twelve versts to the north of Columbus in four wagons, fourteen of us. The country is excellently fitted for wheat, oats and corn. The grass was not particularly plentiful. The land is rolling and streams are scarce. Water is found one hundred thirteen feet in the ground. Wells are made by boring, so that a narrow pail can be used for drawing the same from the well. The soil is mixed with a grayish sand and loam. There are no forests here and the lumber for building purposes must be shipped from Minnesota. The cost of this lumber, delivered is $25.00 per M. feet. Planed and polished lumber costs $40.00 per M. feet. After we had viewed the land, we again returned to Columbus, where we boarded the train at four in the afternoon for Ayr Junction, one hundred four miles from Columbus. After we had left Columbus, I found that I had forgotten my little box which contained some valuable papers, at the place where we had stayed overnight. What I was most concerned about was the fact that among the papers was

also my pass. I informed the agent about it and he wired back. When we arrived at Ayr Junction the reply was already there. The agent said that by Monday I would have my box. Two other agents joined us here while the two former ones who had accompanied us so far left us. We remained here for the night.

Saturday, July 7. We traveled by rail as far as Lamel, a small town fifteen versts from Ayr Junction. Here we had breakfast and then went out in four wagons, sixteen of us in number to view the land. We drove as far as a little stream known as the Little Blue River, thirty versts from Lamel. Here we ate dinner and went on another twenty versts as far as the Red Cloud River, where we remained for the night at the home of a man. During the entire stretch of fifty versts we struck only three farm homes. The land is quite sandy and grass does not seem plentiful, hardly enough for pasture. At places one finds ruins of old mounds and ditches. Water can be found only deep in the ground and in the entire distance we found only one small insignificant stream. The region is entirely treeless and far away from all "Handel und Wandel."

Sunday, July 8. We spent Sunday in the state of Nebraska, five miles from the Kansas boundary near the Red Cloud River. We spent the day in our rooms and attended services in a church in the evening. The sermon was preached in English by a minister who traveled with us, and we sang a song in the German language.

Monday, July 9. At three in the morning we traveled back fifty versts and at three in the afternoon we arrived at the little town of Hastings. Then we went to Sutton, Fairmont and Crete. In this last-named town I received my little box of papers which I had forgotten at Columbus, the week before. Here we had supper. At midnight we arrived in Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska. From Hastings to Lincoln, the distance is one hundred eighty-six miles and we remained in Lincoln for the night.

Tuesday, July 10. In the morning eleven of us took a car to get a view of the city. The car came to our door and took us all along. My, how tired I am of all this travel and sight-seeing by this time, but I could not refuse and so I went along. When the rest wished to go another one and one-half miles to bathe in a salt spring I refused and retired to my room. We left Lincoln at eleven in the morning and arrived at Plattsmouth at three, fifty-five miles from Lincoln. Here we boarded a steamboat and crossed the Missouri River, two miles wide to the Iowa side and traveled by train fourteen versts further on, where we took leave of the other brethren, Lorenz Tschetter, Tobias and myself going directly to Elkhart, while the other brethren went to Summerfield, Illinois. Bro. Funk went to the state of Missouri to visit one of his brothers. We were all to meet at Elkhart Sunday evening. We traveled throughout the night.

Wednesday, July 11. Early in the morning we came through Galesburg where we had breakfast and then to Aurora, a large city, and at three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived in Chicago. We were met there by a German man named Resla, who had orders to meet us from

the railroad agents in Nebraska. He took us to a German hotel. From Plattsmouth to Chicago is a distance of four hundred fifty miles. At five in the afternoon we boarded the train and arrived at ten that evening in Elkhart, Indiana, one hundred one miles from Chicago. We went to brother Funk's home where I expected a letter from home, but was disappointed.

Thursday, July 12. At five in the afternoon Tobias Unruh and myself went with Isaac Kilmer out into the country to his farm. We had already been there before.

Friday, July 13. We remained the entire day at the home of Isaac, where we rested from our long journey. It rained all day long with much thunder and lightning.

Saturday, July 14. Felt somewhat sick when I arose in the morning. Could eat little and had constant stomach pains. At four in the afternoon Isaac took us to Holdemann, six miles away where we remained for the night.

Sunday, July 15. Felt somewhat sick when I arose in the morning. At ten we went to the church services where many people had assembled. I gave the opening sermon and Tobias Unruh gave the main sermon. After the services Isaac took us to Leatherman, one mile away, where we had dinner with some other brethren who were also ministers. In the afternoon we accompanied Isaac to another church six miles away where a service was to begin at four. There we also met Lorenz and Schrag. They informed us that Ewert, Buller and Warkentin's son had gone to Texas, and that Sudermann was in Elkhart. Tobias Unruh led in the opening sermon, and I gave the main sermon. My text was Col. II, 1, "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you." The congregation was rather small, but when the sermon was over there were even less. Hardly any were left except the ministers. Very likely the sermon was not to their taste. After the service I went along with Rev. Heinrich Schaum, two miles from the church.[40*] I had such a headache that I had to lie down as soon as we reached home and did not eat anything that evening.

Monday, July 16. My headache of yesterday had ceased, but somehow I could not eat breakfast for I had no appetite. The man at whose house I stayed took us to a place two miles away where Lorenz and Schrag stayed and from there took us to Elkhart, four miles away, where we met brother Sudermann. I went to a drugstore and purchased some medicine, and went to my room. I did not eat dinner. In the afternoon we had to talk over some matters in regard to conferring with the government. Some of the brethren first wished to go to Canada before conferring with the government officials, while others had gone to Texas. So we decided that Lorenz, Tobias Unruh and myself should make the journey alone, confer with the government officials and continue our journey homeward. We took leave of all the brethren and I led in a farewell prayer. They accompanied us as far as the railway station and we proceeded on our journey to Philadelphia.

40* Henry Shaum was bishop of the Olive Mennonite Church.

Tuesday, July 17. This morning we were still traveling on with the train, passing through many cities and at eleven in the morning we were in Cleveland, Ohio, near Lake Erie, a large city with many hundreds of factories of various kinds. We were obliged to remain in Cleveland until four in the afternoon. At that time we departed from the city arriving at seven that evening in the city of Akron and at twelve in Pittsburgh where we changed. We stepped from the train and did not know where to find our train. Happily we found a German man who assisted us. We traveled throughout the entire night towards Philadelphia.

Wednesday, July 18. At ten we arrived at Harrisburg, at eleven at Lancaster, and at one o'clock in the large city of Philadelphia, one of the most beautiful cities in America. The distance from Elkhart to Philadelphia is eight hundred miles. Here we had the address of a certain J. Cooke, who is one of the richest men in America. We went to the office of J. Cooke which was four miles from the station. We were asked whether we had seen Hiller a German man who was to meet us at the station.[41] We said, "No." We were given a lodging place which was paid for by the J. Cooke Co. man. Hiller then came in and informed us that Klassen and Cornelius with the three other Bergthal brethren had gone to New York City and expected to board the ship tomorrow. We asked Hiller to wire them and ask them to wait so that we might make the journey home together. We also inquired about the price of land and they informed us $3.50 per acre. We said $3.00 is enough, and they advised us to wait until tomorrow, when we could talk with the head official. We decided to wait until the next day. We then went with Hiller to see the city waterworks which is one of the wonders of the world. The water from the river is forced one hundred feet into an elevated reservoir and then distributed through pipes all over the city.

Thursday, July 19. This morning I wrote a petition (Bittschrift) to the President of the United States.[42] At eight o'clock Hiller came to our

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[41] Hiller early the following year was sent by the railroad company to South Russia to get the Hutterians and Mennonites interested in their lands. In Russia, Hiller called at the home of Rev. Tschetter.

[42] The following is the Tschetter petition to President Grant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the delegates, appeal in this petition that in case there should be a war, that we should be free for at least 50 years from everything that concerns war; after 50 years we are willing to pay as all others. The other governmental expenses we are willing to help bear as well as other citizens. We wish to be as obedient children to the government in all matters that are not against our conscience. But we cannot partake in anything that pertains to the military, and pray we may here enjoy in peace, what in Russia we are exiled for. We also desire to know whether we may be permitted to form our colony in one community; and have our own German schools; whether we may control our own schools; whether we may establish our own form of local government in our colonies as it fits us, and whether we may be freed from the holding of office and also jury-service and such like; and also whether we shall be free to vote or not.

We also desire to know under what conditions we may secure govern-

rooms. I showed him the petition and he said that it was very satisfactory and that he would assist us in handing it to the President personally. At ten in the morning we went to the railway offices, where we were introduced to J. Cooke. He could not speak German and Hiller was our interpreter. Cooke said that he expected to leave the city for a time on business, but there was a man in New York City, who was the highest official over the land affairs and that he would be able to inform us regarding the price of the land. Mr. Cooke treated us with some very excellent wine which we had to drink with him. When he found that we wished to see the President he gave us a letter of introduction, which may be of great assistance to us. We were then called into another room where a group of Moravians wished to meet us and speak to us in regard to our belief and creed. We explained to them the chief principles of our confession of faith and they wrote them all down until we came to the point as to whether women could be teachers. I said, "No," and they inquired, "Why not?" I replied, "Because the apostle said, 'I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence' " (I Tim. 11, 12). They said "We like all your principles, excepting this one. We are all in Christ, men and women." And I said, "Yes, we are all equal, men and women in the eyes of the Lord, but the husband is the head of the wife and so we rather take the head than the feet." After I had said that, the discussion stopped and they took leave of us and went their way. We also retired to our rooms and at seven in the morning we boarded the train for New York City, one hundred miles from Philadelphia and arrived there at ten in the evening. We crossed a small body of water and then Hiller engaged a car to take us to his home, six miles out of the city where we remained at his home for the night.

Friday, July 20. At ten in the morning we boarded a steamship for New York City, six miles away. We were busy the entire day dealing with the land company. They did not wish to agree to points and asked us to come again the next morning at eleven o'clock when they would be ready with their decision. We returned to our rooms at the home of Hiller.

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ment land, and how many acres each person can have, and how old a person must be to obtain land; whether we may be freed from taking the oath, and whether our yea and nay will be regarded as sufficient, for swearing is just as much a matter of conscience with us as the matter of war, according to the word of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and whether in case our consciences should be violated we might have the privilege of emigrating from America.

If we, the delegates, can secure the above-mentioned privileges, our brethren in Russia will be encouraged to emigrate to America. But if they cannot secure this, the emigration will be small; for most of them do not wish to risk the dangers connected with emigration with something uncertain.

Such is our humble prayer to his Excellency, the President of the United States, that he may give us a clear answer to this petition so that we poor and oppressed people may know what to do.

July 26, 1873.

Delegates
PAUL TSCHETTER
LORENZ TSCHETTER

Saturday, July 21. Again went to New York City, and at eleven met the land agents. They agreed to all our points but wished us to come Monday. Since we expected to have an interview with the President that day, our meeting with the agents was postponed until Tuesday. We intended to wire home and inquire as to what was best to do in regard to this land business but upon being informed that the cablegram would cost twenty-five dollars we thought it was too much and so we again returned to our rooms.

Sunday, July 22. At ten we went to New York City and attended church services at a Mission where a sermon was preached in German. The minister spoke of the Cross and tribulations and faith and that we should leave all for His sake. But when I looked the congregation over, it did not seem as though they were leaving very much. There was altogether too much of this worldliness. After the service we again returned to Hiller's home and had dinner there. We remained there in the afternoon. Many guests came to see us that afternoon, and we dined with them. They were anxious to see the Russian brethren and invited us to their homes, but we excused ourselves, saying that our time was very limited.

Monday, July 23. At ten we went to New York City to see the railway agent, but he was sick and so we could do very little. In the evening we intended to go to Washington. Since this traveling back and forth was expensive, we decided that Lorenz should stay at our room, while Tobias and myself would go to Washington with Hiller. Hiller telegraphed to the President at Washington, but received the reply that we should meet him at Long Beach. We then planned to return to our lodging place, but since there was no ship there at that hour I said that I would go to the mission and inquire whether we had received any mail. On my return I lost my way and wandered around a considerable time. When I finally found the place, neither Tobias nor Hiller were there. I waited for an entire hour and still no one appeared and so I returned to the mission and remained there for the night.

Tuesday, July 24. Received a telegram from Hiller that I should remain at the mission and that they would meet me there. At ten they arrived and we all went to the railway agent and he offered us the land for three dollars per acre. But we did not agree on a number of other points and so the deal remained open for further negotiation some time later. When we returned home we saw an oil steamer on fire in the ocean. The fire lasted throughout the day and night. That was not far from our rooms.

Wednesday, July 25. We spent the entire day in the city and returned to our quarters at Hiller's home in the evening.

Thursday, July 26. This was the day that we really intended to leave for home, for our ship was to sail today. But since we had some important work to do yet, we decided to remain longer. We had to take new courage and patience and wait until next Thursday, when another ship would leave for Hamburg. I wrote another petition to the

President, for I did not particularly like the first one. At eleven in the morning we went to the city. Here I recopied my petition and had it translated into English. Then we again returned home. Oh, how I abhor life in the city. All the noise and music make me so disgusted, that I can hardly stand it.

Friday, July 27. At eight we took the steamer for New York City, walked through a part of the city and boarded another ship to Long Beach where the President spends the summer and where we were to meet him. We sailed two hours by ship and traveled one more hour by rail when we arrived at Long Beach and remained at a hotel. Hiller went to investigate when we were to appear before the President. He soon returned and informed us that we were to meet him at eight in the evening. Shortly before eight we left our hotel to appear before the President, which was only one and one-half miles from our lodging place.

When we arrived at the President's home we were introduced to President Grant by Hiller. The President received us in the most friendly manner and we presented our petition to him personally. After reading it very carefully the President replied that we must have patience to wait for an answer to our petition. But since we are to leave New York for home on the Cimbria August 2, Hiller assured us that he would send us the President's reply.[43]

NOTE

The journey of Rev. Tschetter had important results. After his return to Russia, August 28, 1873, he reported on conditions in America and before another year was past several groups

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[43] Several weeks after the Tschetters had reached their homes in Russia, they received the following reply to their petition to the President.

Washington, Sept. 5, 1873.

The President sent to me the petition of the Mennonite delegates, and the reason for the delay in the answer is this: At the time of the meeting of the Mennonites with the President he was told that they wished to depart in a few days. The only answer that could be given was that the President could not guarantee them the assurances they desired.

They wished guarantees of exemption from military service and also jury service. They desire also to be free from the payment of substitute money in case of draft; and the right to govern their own schools.

Since personal military service, citizenship obligations, jury service, and control over schools are all matters that fall under the jurisdiction of the various states in which they wish to settle, the President says that he cannot exempt them from the laws of the states and the laws to which other citizens are subject. As to the paying of substitute money for fifty years, that, too, is beyond his power of promising. It is true, however that for the next fifty years we will not be entangled in another war in which military service will be necessary. But should it be necessary there is little likelihood that Congress would find justification in freeing them from duties which are asked of other citizens.

It is impossible therefore to grant the answer which you (Hiller) and the delegates wished before their departure. I had to withhold the answer until I had opportunity to see the President.

With greatest obedience
Your Humble Servant
HAMILTON FISH.

were on their way to America. Between 1874 and 1879 all the Hutterians with the exception of two families migrated to this country. They established three communistic colonies in the James River Valley of South Dakota, northwest of the city of Yankton, and a number of families settled on independent farms. Since that time, these three communistic colonies have increased to thirty-three, while the families on independent farms would count into the hundreds. Nearly all of the communistic colonies have since the World War moved to Canada and some of those still remaining in South Dakota are at this time in the process of doing the same. Most of the independent Hutterians still live in South Dakota. Rev. Tschetter, the author of the diary, died in 1919.

CORRECTIONS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Joseph W. Tschetter of Chicago calls our attention to the fact that the concluding sentence in his biography of his father, Paul Tschetter, which was published as an introduction to the Paul Tschetter diary in the April number of the REVIEW, is erroneous. We are sorry for the error, which did not appear in the original manuscript and gladly print the correction. The last sentence should read: He was for over fifty years a minister of an independent Hutterite Mennonite Church which was organized like the churches of the General Conference of Mennonites, and was looked upon as a leader of the independent Hutterite Mennonite Churches.

Further corrections on the first instalment of Paul Tschetter's Diary as printed in the April issue of the REVIEW, are suggested by Timothy Brenneman of Goshen, Indiana, a son of Daniel Brenneman in whose home Paul Tschetter visited during his visit among the Elkhart County Mennonite churches, as reported in his diary. Mr. Brenneman is still much interested in Mennonite history though at an advanced age, and we are grateful to him for his valuable suggestions. Readers will please note the following points.

1. Note 15. Page 122. The identification of the church is wrong. What is said to be the Yellow Creek Church should be the Shaum or Olive Church, which was located one mile from the Isaac Kilmer home, whither Tschetter was taken for entertainment.

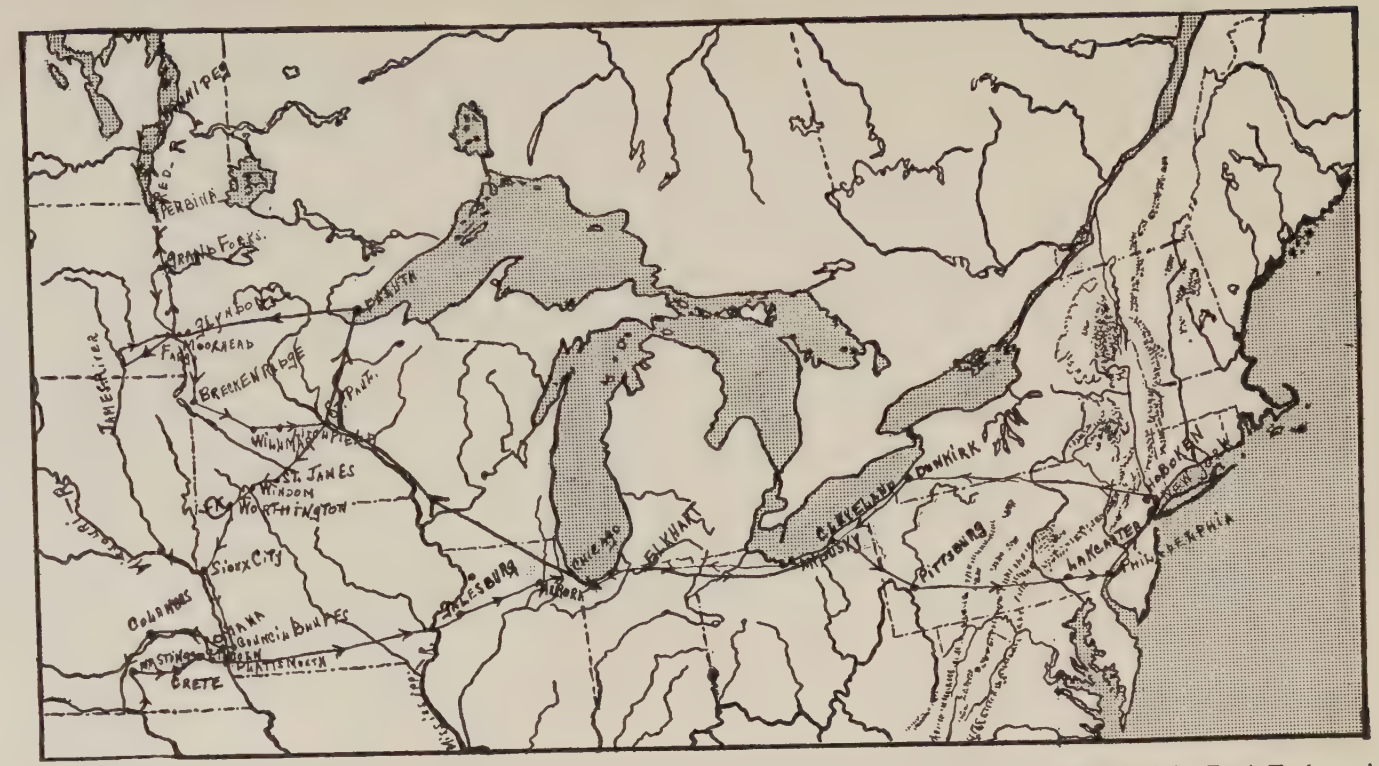
2. Page 123. Mr. Brenneman is certain that Tschetter was mistaken in his observation of Mennonite women chewing tobacco. He well remembers them smoking, but does not recollect a single case of chewing. The *Isaac* mentioned on this page was not Isaac Gelert, but Isaac Kilmer, a prominent member of the Shaum or Olive Church, who lived one mile northwest of the church. Daniel Brenneman himself lived four miles northwest of the same church.

3. Page 124. The meeting mentioned under date of May 15, was a meeting at which an attempt was made to reunite the Wisler and Brenneman factions. It was held at the Yellow Creek Church.

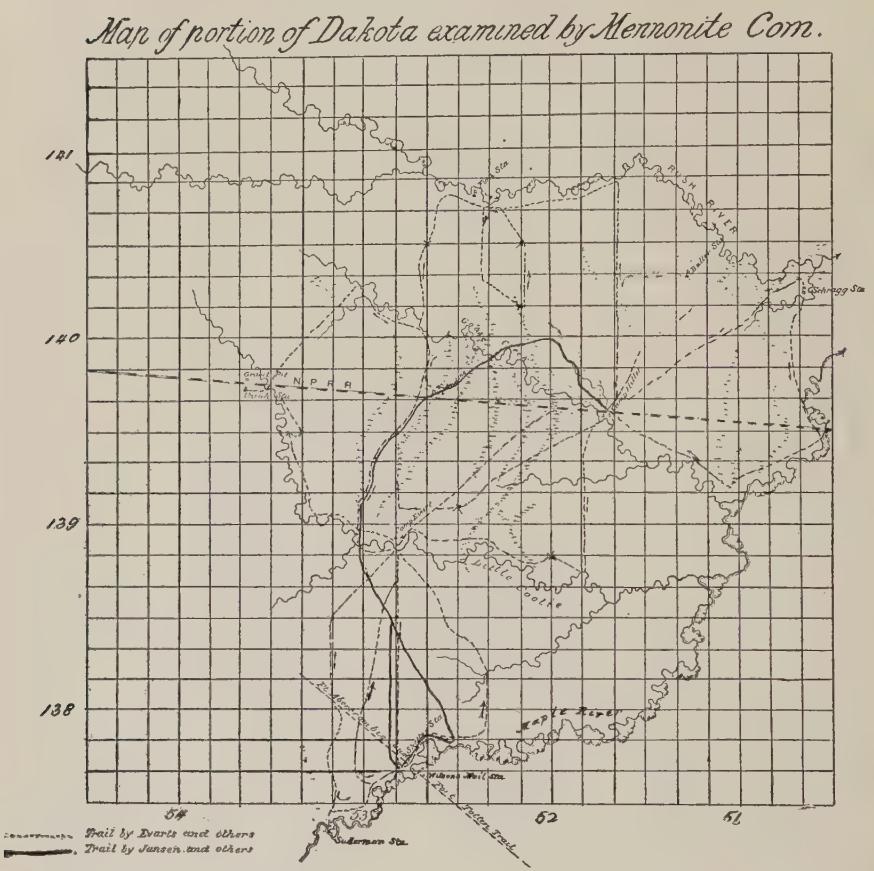
4. Page 125. The church referred to is the Holdeman Church. The statement referring to the ministers smoking should be understood to mean that some of the ministers smoked, not all.

5. Page 127. The music box mentioned was an organ.

ROUTE FOLLOWED BY PAUL AND LORENZ TSCHETTER IN 1873 IN THEIR TRAVELS THROUGH AMERICA



The above sketch map showing the route followed by Paul and Lorenz Tschetter as described in Paul Tschetter's diary was prepared by Professor J. M. Hofer of Bethel College on the basis of the diary.



The map represents an area of land 24 miles square, the small squares being one mile square. The area may be located on any good map of North Dakota. It lies in the heart of Cass County. The railway running through the center of the map is the Northern Pacific Railway running west from Fargo. The railway enters the map exactly 12 miles west of Fargo, approximately where the town of Mapleton now stands, and leaves it at the western edge about where the town of Buffalo now stands. The town of Castleton now occupies the site of Camp Hiller. The map was prepared by railway officials for distribution. Several copies were found among the papers of John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, which are now in the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

RESEARCH NOTES

MORE SOURCE MATERIAL FOR ONTARIO MENNONITE HISTORY

I

The following list of Mennonite residents of Willoughby Township, Lincoln County, Ontario, in 1839, was found by Joseph C. Fretz of Merritton, Lincoln County, Ontario, in the course of his research in preparing a history of the Mennonites of the Niagara Peninsula. The families mentioned total 193 persons. They composed the Mennonite church at what was called Black Creek on the Niagara River not far from Buffalo. The Tunker families mentioned are also known by the name of Brethren in Christ or River Brethren. This is the first indisputable evidence of the existence of a large congregation at this place. The church died out very early and to-day there are practically no traces of this once flourishing community.

MEMORANDUM OF ASSESSMENT FOR WILLOUGHBY TOWNSHIP

1839, Papers of Michael Gonder.

		Children		Total in Family
Peter Sailer	Mennonist	over 16—f1 m3	under—f3 m2	11
Jacob Morningstar	Mennonist	over 16—f2 m2	under—f4 m1	11
John Beam	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m1	under—f2 m2	11
David Waggener	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m2	under—f2 m1	11
Martin Shoup	Mennonist	over 16—f4 m1	under—f8 m3	18
John Boyer	Mennonist	over 16—f4	under—f0 m2	8
John Barnhart	Mennonist	over 16—f2		4
Martin Cider	Tunker	over 16—f1 m0	under—f2 m4	
Henry Glimenhage	Tunker	over 16—f1 m0	under—f2 m1	
Abraham Flag	Mennonist	over 16—f1 m1	under—f2 m1	7
Benjamin Morningstar	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f2	5
Adam Neigh	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f2 m2	10
Nicholas Neigh	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under— m1	4
Jacob Barnhart	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f4 m3	10
Peter Pickhart	Mennonist	over 16—f1		3
George Werner	Mennonist	over 16—f1	under—f1	4
John Baker	Mennonist	over 16—f2	under—f3 m3	10
Abraham Beam				
Martin Lapp	Mennonist	over—f1	under—f1 m3	7
Jacob Miller	Mennonist	over—f2		4
Jacob Miller, Junior	Mennonist	over—f1	under—f4 m2	9
Samuel Danner	Mennonist	over—f3 m2	under— m1	8
Magdalena Whisler	Mennonist	over—f1 m2	under—f4 m1	9
Abraham Lapp	Mennonist	over—f2 m2		5
Herbert Lee	Mennonist	over—f1	under—f2 m3	8
Isaac Lapp	Mennonist	over—f1 m1	under— m3	7
George Blily	Mennonist	over—f1	under—f1 m3	7
				193

Township of Willoughby, County of Lincoln.

II

AFFIDAVIT OF MENNONIST FOR MILITIA EXEMPTION*

I, George Histand, of the township of Waterloo, in the County of Waterloo, yeoman, do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that I am one of the society called Mennonists and I, the said George Histand, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that from the doctrine of my religion I am averse to bearing arms and refuse personal military service and that I am one of the religious society of Mennonists and I claim the benefit of exemption from such military service under sec. 17 of the Act respecting the militia and the Defence of the Dominion of Canada. Virtue of the facts above affirmed.

Solemnly affirmed before me at the Hour —— of Berlin in the County of Waterloo this — March, 1869, Justice of the Peace. The Society of Mennonists at the Township of Waterloo in the County of Waterloo in the Province of Ontario do hereby certify that George Histand of the township of Waterloo aforesaid yeoman is a member of the said society and that from the doctrines of this religion he is averse to bearing arms and refuses personal military service. Dated the 24th day of March, 1869.

Joseph Hagy, Bishop.

Filed with the captain of company — Division No. — in the regimental division of the Ninth Riding of Waterloo within the limits of which company division the said George Histand resides.
Note: Fees to captain for drawing, receiving and filing affidavit certificate and noticing same, one dollar.

*The original of this document is in possession of Deacon George A. Weber, of Kitchener, Ontario, grandson of George Histand. Appreciation is due Mr. Weber for his kind permission to publish this document.

III

AN EARLY ONTARIO MENNONITE CONFERENCE OF 1836

A Translation of the German Reports in the local Berlin, Ontario (now Kitchener) Weekly Newspaper.[1]

(1.)

CANADA MUSEUM

Berlin, Waterloo Township Thursday, October 13, 1836.

Tomorrow the great conference of the Mennonites begins in the Benjamin Eby meeting house. May the spirit of wisdom and peace be in the midst of these brethren.

1. The *Canada Museum* was the first newspaper published in Waterloo Co., Ontario. It appeared as a weekly in the summer of 1836 for the first time, edited by H. W. Peterson. Peterson had received considerable financial support from the Mennonites for his publishing venture.

Since the purpose of this conference is to promote the welfare of the Church and furtherance of true Christianity, we should like to submit the following questions for serious consideration by this conference:

1. Do you endorse the publication of a monthly periodical whose contents shall consist in part of Christian and in part of general articles, to be edited by a brother appointed by you?
2. Are you willing to support such a Christian and useful monthly periodical and to solicit subscribers for the same in your various congregations? This periodical is to contain sixteen pages octavo size and to be issued in Berlin at the beginning of each month at a subscription price of one dollar a year for 12 numbers, without postage. Postage paid, the price will be $1.25. If this plan is agreeable to you, inform the publisher of this paper so that the first number may appear with God's gracious support next January.

The *Gemeinschaftliche Liederbuch*[2] has just left the press and will be ready for delivery in a few days. Subscribers will therefore kindly get their books from us soon.

2. This was the first Mennonite publication in Canada. It was prepared by Bishop Benjamin Eby, of Berlin (now Kitchener), and went through numerous editions.

(2.)

CANADA MUSEUM

Berlin, Waterloo Township Thursday, October 20, 1836.

Mennonite Conference. Last Sunday we attended the annual conference of the Mennonites. The same was largely attended and since it was the first time that we had opportunity to attend such a meeting, we hope no one will object if we remark briefly that the important discussions made a deep impression upon us. There were many preachers present, of whom a number were from a distance, among whom we recognized the Reverend gentlemen[3] Huber, Schwarz, Treier, Zewetz, Daniel Hoch, and several others, who all gave addresses on this occasion which were applicable to the time and circumstances and were delivered with earnestness, love, and emphasis. Exceptionally moving for us was the hearty admonition of aged father Huber who as an old patriarch, like the Apostle Paul, conveyed to the congregation both young and old what he felt to be his last fatherly and Christian counsel and admonition for the right. This he did, accompanied with such a moving statement that this would very likely be the last time that they would see him present that the feeling of sorrow which was thereby aroused brought many a tear of re-

3. The exact names and residences of these ministers are unknown. Huber was no doubt from Rainham in Haldimand Co., on Lake Erie, Schwarz either from the same place or from Lincoln Co. (Vineland), Zewetz from Niagara Co., Treier from the Markham settlement in York County north of Toronto, Daniel Hoch was from Lincoln County (Vineland).

gret to the eyes. The genuinely Christian opening and closing address of father Schwarz deserves of everyone who heard him to be heartily endorsed and retained in constant memory.

The ceremonial procedure in connection with the Holy Lord's Supper, as well as the intense attention of the listeners, was a great source of satisfaction to us.

In all the teachings which we heard the worthy brethren preach we can find nothing to criticise, and we recognise them as apostolically Christian and genuinely evangelical, that is, in so far as our weak understanding of the important teachings of Christ and His Apostles extends.

The above cursory remarks we give simply as news for those of our readers who do not belong to the Mennonite church. The Mennonites themselves are not in need of this report. May the Lord richly bless these preachers and their congregations as before, for His love's sake and for Jesus' sake. Amen.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Russian Dance of Death, by Dirk Gora. The Key Books Publishers, Inc., Claremont, Los Angeles County, Calif., 1930, pp. 186.

This diary gives a vivid picture of the situation in Russia during the revolution in the years 1919-20, particularly in those regions of Southern Russia, which, thanks to the industry and wise management of the Mennonite settlers, had become the granary of Russia. The author himself is in the center of events and relates his own experiences as they take place, adding his reflections as they pressed upon his mind in those fateful moments. This enables the reader not only to observe what happens but also to read the minds of those who had to go through these trying experiences. It is therefore not only a panorama of things and events, but also a study of the deepest emotions of the human soul, with all its hopes and anxieties, revealing the age-long struggle of man with the powers of evil, especially at times when evil seems to be gaining the upper hand.

A few things however must be mentioned in this review, which are not altogether complimentary to the author. Dirk Gora (Dr. Dietrich Neufeld) published a German edition of this his diary at Emden, Germany in 1921 with the title *Tagebuch aus dem Reiche des Totentanzes.* In the foreword to the German edition valuable information is given concerning the Mennonite colonists, for it is in the midst of the Mennonite colonies in South Russia that the events described in the diary take place. In the English edition this information is omitted. The fact that these colonists are Mennonites is not left altogether unmentioned in the book, but the author does not seem to be particularly anxious to bring this fact to the attention of his readers. This is especially noticeable in regard to the German cultural and racial connections of the Mennonites. Favorable references to Germany and German culture are blotted out in the English edition,

while otherwise the book is simply a translation from the German original. A few examples may be quoted here to show this tendency.

On page 24 the original phrase, "German colonists," is changed to "Colonist farmers;" on page 25 instead of "We Germans," the author substitutes, "We colonists;" on page 53, "Hoping for Germany's help," is changed to, "Hoping for some outside power to rescue us;" on page 55 "These people" instead of "German colonists;" on page 70, referring to the author himself, the original reads "That I have been writing in the German language only;" this is changed to "Some western language;" etc., etc.

But still more astonishing is a phrase found in the English translation, which does violence to the spirit of the German original and has no equivalent in the original text. I refer to the phrase, "The devilish politics of the Kaiser." What may have been the purpose of the author in adding this phrase? Does it express the general attitude of the colonists? How does it harmonize with the information given on page 28 of the German edition? Or was it the attitude of the author himself in those days? Certainly not. A few lines from the German original under Sept. 15th may enlighten us on this point:

> "Wenn ich dort weiter die ruhigen Fluten des Stromes dahingehen sehe, ist es mir so, als ob diese Wasser, weither vom Nordwesten aus deutschen Landen kommend, hier ein zipfelchen deutscher Erde abgelagert hätten. Ein Geschlecht ist darauf aufgewachsen, das deutsch spricht, eigen denkt und ähnlichen Gemütes ist wie die Deutschen."

Dr. Neufeld would have done himself no harm if he had referred to his German original, nor even if he had exactly reproduced the attitudes of the original. For after all it is here where the unusual glow of his poetic soul comes to a full expression. And it is this German original which makes Dr. Neufeld one of the greatest writers among the Mennonite colonists of South Russia, if not the greatest. His unusual mastery of the German language, coupled with that free poetic spirit, glowing with tender emotions for his fellow sufferers, is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in our Mennonite literature. I have no wish to minimize the value of the English translation. Such a translation was greatly desirable. Still it is to be regretted that the author thought it necessary to meet the American reader in this way. It was unnecessary.

On behalf of the English translation Dr. Neufeld has received unreserved praise from American literary critics and rightly so. It is a splendid achievement revealing the extraordinary linguistic abilities of the author, who has been remarkably successful in pouring out his soul into what were hitherto to him unknown forms.

Goshen College. G. H. Enss.

Erloesung von Peter Epp, Libertas Verlag, Bluffton, Ohio, U. S. A. 1930, pp. 111.

This short story, a tragedy of Mennonite life during the Russian Revolution, is a remarkable piece of literature from the pen of one of our own number. The most unbearable part of it is the fact that it

is not fiction but truth. Some of the characters I knew personally. The author also writes out of personal experience, since he himself was born and lived in Russia until after the Revolution.

The author has given particular attention to his hero, the old minister, Harder, and with unquestionable success. The old mother, the wife of Rev. Harder, though typical, does not win our sympathy until later. In my opinion she deserved a more sympathetic treatment from the start. Franz, the son, is a master characterization. The action moves rapidly on the whole, and where it lingers there is sufficient reason for such suspense. The horrible background of the story, the Red Terror, is pictured skilfully from the beginning to the end, when it becomes an overpowering present reality.

Historically, the book is invaluable, and yet one observation must be made in this respect. The old minister, no matter how true to life, is not a true representative of the Mennonite ministry in Russia. On the other hand, the old mother, though less successfully characterized, must be accepted as a true type of the Mennonite housewife. Thus it happens that the best and truest character is the least historical. This, of course does not minimize the artistic value of the book. We sincerely hope that this book may be only one in a series of similar productions from the pen of this promising author.

Goshen College. G. H. Enss.